NICHOLAS ADONTZ

ARMENIA IN THE PERIOD OF JUSTINIAN

THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS BASED ON THE *NAXARAR* SYSTEM

TRANSLATED WITH PARTIAL REVISIONS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

AND

APPENDICES

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CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION
LISBON

1970

EDITOR'S PREFACE

For more than half a century since its publication in 1908, Nicholas Adontz's monumental thesis on *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* has proved to be both a landmark and a guidepost in the field of Armenian studies although its general inaccessibility, either from the rarity of procurable copies, or from linguistic difficulties, has made of it far too often a semi-legendary document rather than a useful tool. Perhaps as the result of this fortuitous isolation as well as of external circumstances, Adontz's first and probably greatest work did not lead to an immediate proliferation of studies along the lines that he had traced. He, himself, was to develop a number of them in later works such as his articles on the *Armenian Primary History*, Mesrop Mašt'oç, Koriwn, P'awstos Buzand, and Movsēs Xorenaçi; on the date of the Christianization of Armenia; on the Iranian aspects of Armenian society; and, as late as his postumously published *History*, on pre-Achaemenid Armenia [1]. But it is only relatively recently that the works of such distinguished contemporary armenologists as Gérard Garitte, Cyril Toumanoff, and the late Hakob Manandian have developed a number of problems in mediaeval Armenian history significantly beyond the point reached by Adontz at the turn of the century, and these scholars have not failed to acknowledge their indebtedness even where they have outstripped him [2]. Not even a Marxist presentation which of necessity challenged many of Adontz's premises and interpretations prevented A.G. Sukiasian from admitting that " ... the admirable work of N. Adontz ... remains to this day one of the most authoritative works on Armenian feudalism "[3]. Such tributes are all the more impressive if we remember that they are addressed to the first major work of a young scholar composed at a time when a number of crucial studies on Late-Roman, Byzantine, and Iranian history as well as on the historical geography of eastern Anatolia were still to be written.

The scope of Adontz's encyclopaedic work is not conveyed adequately by even a full quotation of his title, since, far from restricting himself to the reign of Justinian, or to an investigation of the *naχarar* system, he went on to scrutinize nearly every aspect of ancient and mediaeval

[1] A bibliography of Adontz's works can be found in the commemorative article in *HA*, LXI (May, 1947), pp. 313-318, and in *AIPHO*, IV (1936), pp. 991-993.

[2] *E.g.*, Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 108. *See* also *below* n. 4.

[3] Sukiasian, *Armenia*, p. 36. Also Yuzbašyan's recent article in *PBH* (1962).

Armenia — geographical, political, religious, administrative, social, and intellectual — while giving simultaneously an extensive analysis of all the available sources. Perhaps the clearest index of the breadth of Adontz's information is the all too clear incompetence of a single individual to edit his work; a team of specialists — historians, geographers, archaeologists, philologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers — would have been necessary to do it justice.

The value of Adontz's work for a new generation of scholars is not, however, limited to being a source of rare information to be exploited for reference; his methods and insights into the crucial problems of early Armenian history may yet prove more useful than even the enormous material accumulated by him. His application of critical scholarly methods to Armenian studies, and particularly his recognition of the dangers inherent in purely literary sources, have led to considerable work on the re-evaluation and re-dating of many Armenian historical documents, a task in which he continued to participate energetically, and which is by no means completed. His simultaneous use of the techniques of varied disciplines while stressing the maintenance of the historian's rigorous chronological criterion, and his comparative method of juxtaposing the information of all relevant sources, Classical, Armenian, and Oriental, provided a workable blueprint for attacking the difficulties characterizing Armenian historiography. His ground breaking qualitative and quantitative analyses of Armenian social structure, reaching beyond superficial generalities, provided us with some of the first detailed information and with a framework for further research.

Particularly illuminating is Adontz's constant refusal to be led astray by the conscious or implicit assumptions of his sources that ancient Armenia was a simple, undifferentiated, and unchanging entity, rather than the complicated aggregation of varied components whose geographic, political, and even religious particularism must be recognized even in periods of seeming unification, and whose characteristics and interests must be accounted for and balanced anew in each successive period. On numerous occasions Adontz's hypotheses have required development or rectification, but his basic conclusions repeatedly reached beyond the theses then current to what would prove to be the crux of a problem: beyond the familiar division of Armenia between the Graeco-Roman and Iranian worlds to the paramount importance of the elaborate nexus of family traditions

and loyalities, " dynastic " as well as " feudal ", as shown in Toumanoff's recent *Studies*; beyond the double strain of Armenian Christianity, Syriac as well as Hellenic, to the relationship of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the *naχarar* structure, and its influence on the political evolution of the country, as I hope to demonstrate in a forthcoming work. Professor Garitte already observed the value of Adontz's inspired guesses when his own publication of the new Greek version of the *Life of St. Gregory* repeatedly vindicated Adontz's hypothetical corrections of Marr's readings in the Arabic version [4].

It is self evident that a book written more than sixty years ago should now be superseded in a number of instances: Armenian archaeology was all but non-existent at the time, so that the Urartian aspects of Armenian history were perforce ignored, though Adontz himself rectified a considerable part of this lacuna in his *Histoire d'Arménie*; new epigraphic material both in Armenia and in Iran has added significantly to our knowledge of both countries, and new editions of Iranian texts have altered a number of etymological derivations; the Erwandian-Orontid dynasty identified by Manandian [5] has altered radically our knowledge of the Hellenistic period; the lengthy survey of Diocletian's administrative reforms while perhaps still useful to Adontz's Russian contemporaries, now seems superfluous; and a number of his conclusions as to the «feudal» nature of the Armenian *naxarar* system rest on antiquated interpretations of European feu-dalism.

The entire book bears the marks of hasty publication, whether in the more superficial details of faulty proofreading, insufficient and often exasperatingly inadequate references, as well as the absence of the indispensable map, whose omission was regretted by the author, or in the far more fundamental aspects of occasionally confused, repetitive and contradictory organization, dubious etymologies, overstatements, and premature conclusions. The involutions of Adontz's style in a language not native to him add nothing to the clarity of the presentation.

Yet Adontz himself anticipated much of the criticism which must attend a pioneer venture by disclaiming any pretension to a definitive study. " ... in publishing this work we are very far from any illusion as to its perfection. Armenian philology is still at a stage where the

[4] Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 351-353.

[5] *See below* Chapter XIV, n. 1.

presentation of any interpretation or theory as unchallengeably correct is out of the question. Students of Armenian antiquity can only grope their way toward many historical problems by way of more or less successful hypotheses; some of these may be corroborated at a later date, others will fall by the way. .... Our clarification of the *naχarar* system should bring a ray of light into the darkness which hangs over the Armenian past ... and should prove a starting point for a scholarly analysis of the extensive subsequent period of Armenian history ... " [6]. On these terms, the value of his work has diminished but little in the intervening half-century, notwithstanding the necessary alterations. It remains a mine of information for the specialist, and a source of seminal ideas for those re-interpretations and further investigations the author had requested. As such it is a fitting reminder that in every generation it behoves dwarfs to take advantage of the shoulders of the giants who have preceded them.

* * *

The instinct of every translator running the ominous gauntlet between the Charybdis of inaccuracy and the Scylla of unreadability is to open with his own *apologia*. This temptation is all the stronger in the case of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, since, as I have already indicated, Russian was not Adontz's native language. Unlike Armenian, which has three steps in the demonstrative-relative system (*hic*, *iste*, *ille*), Russian shares with most European languages a two step system. As a consequence of Adontz's shift from the one to the other, his writing abounds with cases of ambiguous antecedents, not all of which can readily be resolved from the context. His complicated and often awkward sentence structure is particularly foreign to English usage; the paragraphing is often erratic. Nevertheless the text has been consistently respected, and alterations held down to a minimum even where some awkwardness ensued. Aside from the introduction of occasional elucidations such as " Xosrov II of Armenia " for " *X*osrov ", the subdivision of unmanageable sentences, the clarification of antecedents, and the correction of minor misprints, no liberties have been taken with the original.

The only significant difference between this edition and the Russian one lies in the realm of quotations from primary sources. Following the fashion of the day, Adontz often gave lengthy paraphrases rather

[6] Introduction pp. 6 and Chapter XV, p. 371.

than direct quotations. In several instances where this method seemed awkward or unnecessary, the original quotation has been re-introduced, each case being duly recorded in the notes. To facilitate the reading, all extensive quotations in foreign languages have been shifted from the text to the notes and replaced by their English translations. Since so much of the value of Adontz's work lies in his vast collection of sources, many of which still remain extremely scarce even for the specialist, it has seemed useful to include in the notes the texts of a number of passages to which Adontz merely referred, all such additions being set off by square brackets. Furthermore, a series of Appendices containing *in extenso*, or in their relevant portions, the main documents, Classical and Armenian, used by Adontz, has been added to this edition to allow the reader to draw his own conclusions from the material.

In many instances the editions used by Adontz were either superseded or, in the case of some Armenian documents, unobtainable; these have been replaced by more recent or accessible ones. All such substitutions have been noted in the Bibliography. Similarly, the English versions of Classical sources found in the *Loeb Classical Library* have been used wherever possible for the sake of convenience, but any significant differences between their translations and the ones given by Adontz have been recorded. Additional notes by the editor are indicated by letters as well as numbers eg. 1a.

A full scale re-edition of Adontz's book to bring its manifold aspects in line with their modern scholarship would have entailed a major re-writing of the book, and would consequently lie well beyond the scope of this edition and the competence of its editor. Consequently it has seemed best to leave Adontz's text substantially as he composed it, adding only, wherever possible, some indication in the notes as to the agreement or disagreement of subsequent investigators, new material, need for rectification, or corroborative evidence. The new Bibliographical Note attempts to provide some, albeit cursory, indication of the relevant works published since 1908. Finally, it is hoped that the Bibliography, which follows Adontz's lead in reaching beyond the limits of Justinianic Armenia to include a number of problems implicit or explicit in his text, will provide still more comparative material and criteria for a further re-evaluation of some of his conclusions.

All those who have had the occasion to experience it will readily

recognize the eternal nightmare of inconsistency in transliteration, especially in the case of proper names which have reached us in multiple versions. In the kaleidoscopic world of eastern Asia Minor is a locality to be identified by its Classical, Armenian, Persian, Syriac, Arabic, or Turkish name? Which is the preferable transliteration system to be used for the name of an author writing both in Armenian and in Russian? The most that this edition can hope to claim is an attempt to bring a little order into what can only be called Adontz's systematic inconsistency. Wherever possible, Armenian terms have been given according to the prevailing Hübschmann-Meillet system, Arabic ones according to the spelling of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the Persian ones according to Christensen's *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd edition (Copenhagen, 1944) with minor alterations, Russian ones according to the system of the U.S. Library of Congress, Georgian ones according to Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), and Turkish toponyms according to the Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, *Gazetteer No. 46: Turkey* (Washington, 1960). For the sake of convenience, author's names have been given a single form, e.g. Manandian, irrespective of the alterations required by the diverse languages in which they wrote, the form selected being wherever possible the one more generally familiar. In all cases of ambiguity alternate versions have been given. For Armenian toponyms, the Armenian form has generally been preferred for localities in Persarmenia, and the Classical (preferably Greek rather than Latin) for the western section of the country which was part of the Eastern Roman Empire, except in the case of familiar names where such a procedure would entail unwarranted pedantry. For all the occasions on which these guide lines have failed, as they needs must, I can only appeal to the sympathetic indulgence of my colleagues.

The precious geographical sections of the book carry their own particular series of problems. The map envisaged by Adontz was never published, and nearly every locality in eastern Anatolia has experienced at least one name change since 1908. Consequently Kiepert's and Lynch's maps to which Adontz normally refers are of but limited value to the modern reader, since no concordance of earlier and contemporary names exists to my knowledge. The identification of many ancient sites remains controversial in spite of the extensive investigations of Markwart, Honigmann, Eremyan, and many others. In Appendix V some attempt has been made to

coordinate the information on toponyms, giving where relevant and possible their ancient Classical and/or Armenian name, the modern equivalent, the coordinates given in the U.S. Office of Geography, *Gazetteer No. 46*, and a reference to the appropriate sheet of the *USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart* (St. Louis, 1956-1958) and the *Turkish General Map*. Where this has proved impossible, the available information will be found in the relevant notes.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to my friends and colleagues, professors Seeger Bonebakker, Associate Professor of Arabic Studies, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Professor of Turkic Studies, Karl H. Menges, Professor of Altaic Philology, and Ehsan Yar-Shater, Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Iranian Studies, all of Columbia University, as well as professors Gérard E. Caspary, Associate Professor of Mediaeval History at Smith College, Wendell S. Johnson, Associate Professor of English Literature at the University of the City of New York, and Norma A. Phillips, Assistant Professor of English Literature at Queens College of the City of New York, for their help and patience on the many occasions when I was forced to turn to them for assistance. I am most grateful to Professor Emeritus Sirarpie der Nersessian of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, both for her suggestion that I undertake this edition and for the help and encouragement she has so often given me. To my constant advantage, I have also benefited from the vast knowledge and inexhaustible kindness of Monsieur Haig Bérbérian of the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*. Finally, my thanks are also due to Dr. Robert Hewsen for his help with questions of Armenian geography, and to my students Dr. Linda Rose, Messers, Krikor Maksoudian and Jack Vartoogian for the endless hours they spent in the thankless tasks of verifying references, hunting out copies of rare works, and proofreading. For the many flaws which such an edition must perforce still contain, the responsibility remains of course mine alone.

Nina G. Garsoïan.

New York, July 3, 1967.

ABREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (Brussels).
AAWB	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels).
ABAWM	*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München.*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum,* Schwartz, E. ed. (Berlin, 1914).
AEHE	*Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études* (Paris).
AIPHO	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* (Brussels).
AJSLL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago).
AKGWG	*Abhandlungen der königlischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
AO	*Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen).
AQ	*Armenian Quarterly* (New York).
ARBBL	*Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin Classe des Lettres* (Brussels).
ASGW	*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.*
B	*Byzantion* (Brussels).
BA	*Bulletin arménologique. Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph* (Beirut).
Ber	*Berytus* (Beirut).
BGA	*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum,* de Goeje, M.J. ed. (Leiden).
BIM	*Bulletin de l'Institut Marr* (Tbilisi).
BK	*Bedi Karthlisa. Revue de Karthvélologie* (Paris).
BM	*Banber Matenadarani* (Erevan).
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Berlin).
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London).
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig).
Ca	*Caucasica* (Leipzig).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CHA	*Collection d'historiens arméniens,* Brosset, M.F. ed. (St. Petersburg, 1874-1876).
CHAMA	*Collection d'historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie,* Langlois, V. ed. (Paris, 1967-1869).
CHR	*The Catholic Historical Review* (Washington).
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum.*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum.*
CJC	*Corpus Juris Civilis,* Mommsen, T., Krüger, P., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CMH	*Cambridge Medieval History.*
Cod. Th.	*Codex Theodosianus,* Mommsen, T., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CP	*Classical Philology* (Chicago).
CR	*Classical Review* (London-Oxford).
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain).
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-1897).
DHG	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique* (Paris).

DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris).
EHR	*English Historical Review* (London).
EI-	*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1913-1948). New edition (1954-).
EO	*Echos d'Orient* (Paris).
FGH	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1841-1883).
G	*Georgica* (London).
G46	Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, *Gazetteer No. 46 : Turkey* (Washington, 1960).
GGM	*Geographi Graeci Minores*, Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1855-1861).
HA	*Handēs Amsorya* (Vienna).
IAFAN	*Izvestia Armianskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Erevan).
IANA	*Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Armianskoĭ SSR* (Erevan).
IANS	*Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
IKIAI	*Izvestiia Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkheologicheskogo Instituta* (Tbilisi).
IZ	*Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Moscow).
JA	*Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (London).
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London).
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain* (London).
JRGS	*Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* (London).
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies* (London).
K.	*Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leipzig).
KSINA	*Kratkie Soobshcheniie Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
KV	*Khristianskiĭ Vostok.*
L	*Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Mass.-London).
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i/B).
Mansi	*Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio.* Migne, J.B. ed. (Florence - Venice, 1759-1798). New edition (Paris, 1901).
MAIP	*Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg.*
MBAK	*Monatsberichte der berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
MDGKO	*Morgenlandische Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin).
MVG	*Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*
NT	*Nord Tidsskrift for Sprogviden* (Oslo).
OC	*Oriens Christianus* (Leipzig).
OS	*Orientalia Suecana* (Uppsala).
P	*Pazmaveb* (Venice).
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy* (London).
PBH	*Patma-banasirakan Handēs* (Erevan).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1844-1855).
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*, Graffin, R. and Nau, F. edd. (Paris, 1903).
PP	*La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi Classici* (Naples).
PS	*Palestinskiĭ Sbornik* (Moscow).
PW	*Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Pauly, A., Wisso-

	wa, G., and Kroll, W. edd. (Vienna, 1837-1852). New edition (Stuttgart, 1893).
REA	*Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1920-1932). New series (Paris, 1964-).
REAnc	*Revue des Études Anciennes* (Bordeaux).
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines* (Paris).
REIE	*Revue des Études Indo-Européennes.*
RH	*Revue Historique* (Paris).
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain).
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris).
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (Paris).
RSJB	*Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* (Paris).
S	*Syria* (Paris).
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historische Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna).
SBAWM	*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München.*
SIA	*Studia Instituti Anthropos* (Vienna).
SMM	*Sak'art'velos Muzeume Moambe* (Tbilisi).
SV	*Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (Moscow).
T	*Traditio* (New York).
USAFM	*USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart* (St. Louis, 1956-1958).
UZL	*Uchennye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta.*
VBAG	*Verhandlungen der berlinischen anthropologischen Gesellschaft.*
VDI	*Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii* (Moscow).
VI	*Voprosy Istorii* (Moscow).
VIA	*Voprosy Iazykoznaniia* (Moscow).
VV	*Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremmenik* (St. Petersburg, 1894-1928). N.S. (Leningrad, 1947).
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).
ZE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*
ZKO	*Zapiski Klassicheskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg).
ZMNP	*Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia* (St. Petersburg).
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZVO	*Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg).
ZVS	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.*

INTRODUCTION

The period of Justinian, which is the subject of this study, has a particular importance for the history of Armenia as well as that of Byzantium. We conceive this epoch as including more than the actual reign of Justinian; consequently we will give the name of the great emperor to the interval of time which divides the Roman and the Byzantine periods, and marks the transition from the ancient to the medieval state. There are, to be sure, various scholarly opinions as to the initial date of the Byzantine era: the age of Constantine the Great, the period of the division of the Empire by Theodosius I, or the epoch of Justinian. But these disagreements are not mutually exclusive. The foundation of Constantinople at the beginning of the fourth century followed by the transfer to it of the centre of political life, and the division of the Empire into two halves at the turn of the fourth to the fifth century, both mark separate and very important moments in the gradual trend toward a new period. In whatever way we characterize Byzantine culture and political structure, as distinct from that of Antiquity, we cannot deny that the appearance of those elements whose sum is called Byzantine occurred as the result of close ties with the civilization of the Orient. Consequently, the transfer of the capital to the East and the subsequent separation of the eastern half of the Empire from the western should be seen as significant steps in the orientalization of the state.

The reign of Justinian marks the period of the last efforts to save the imperial tradition of the past. The great imperialist sought to unify once again the scattered portions of the Empire, and he dreamt of recreating its past greatness. Brilliant successes in internal and external policy appeared to justify the hopes of the Emperor, and, for a time, it seemed as though the greatest period of Roman power had been reborn. Single individuals, however, are not fated to turn back the wheels of history. The dreams of Justinian were not realized and his aspirations, in the final reckoning, probably brought about the opposite results. During the struggle to preserve Roman tradition and to save the Roman spirit, the ancient pagan conception of the world was imperceptibly transformed into one which was both Christian and Byzantine. Justinian himself personified a type of ruler in

whom we find juxtaposed traits characterizing emperors of the Roman and of the Byzantine periods. The split in political life which had taken place at the time of the acceptance of Christianity had now become so wide that the century of Justinian should be acknowledged as the boundary marking the end of Antiquity and the inauguration of the new, Byzantine, era of history.

In choosing this particular period of transition as a subject for research, we have been moved by a conviction of its primary importance for the history of Armenia. Strictly speaking, Armenian history begins with the consolidation of Christianity in Armenia. If we mean by history the scholarly discipline through which we are able to uncover the past of a given people to a sufficient degree and with sufficient characteristics to grasp its spiritual aspect, then history in this sense may be said to have existed in Armenia only from its Christianization. The pre-Christian life of Armenia is obscure, at least in the present state of historiography. All we possess are isolated facts, fragmentary and occasionally circumstantial information concerned for the most part with the relations between Armenia and the neighbouring powers. This type of material can perhaps cast a dim and indirect light by which the general traits of political life may be perceived, but it is totally incapable of illuminating the factual and internal aspects of life[a].

The best witnesses and interpreters of the historical life of a nation are its language and literature. Historical knowledge reaches solid ground at the moment when documents in the language of a particular people become available. From this point of view, Armenian historiography, in the strict sense, begins with its period of literacy. Among the Armenians, interest in writing coincided with the establishment of Christianity in the country at the beginning of the fourth century, and the final elaboration of the alphabet belongs to the beginning of the fifth century. The first written documents, or rather the first monuments of historical literature which have reached us, cannot be dated earlier than the end of the fifth century. The earliest documents of Christian literature looked primarily toward the Syro-Persian ecclesiastical world; a closer relation with the Byzantine Church began only in the sixth century.

The three periods just mentioned: the early fourth, the fifth and the sixth centuries, have the same significance for the Armenians as they had for Byzantium. They are the outstanding moments

in the trend toward Byzantinization. With its introduction to Christian culture, Armenia became a part of the broader Byzantine world. What was the aspect of Armenia on the eve of the formation of the Byzantine Empire — what were the conditions, especially the political situation of the country when she entered into the sphere of imperial concern — these are the basic problems to be investigated in the present work; this investigation, as we have already said, has been dictated by an interest not only in the history of Armenia, but also in that of Byzantium.

The Byzantine Empire was far from being a homogeneous organism from an ethnic or even a cultural point of view. The unity of the state was not based on a single core, or on the superiority of a particular ethnic group over the rest of the population. No barrier separated the victors from their subjects here, as had been the case among the Romans. The Greek nation was unquestionable in a special position through its strength and importance, but it would not be correct to say that Byzantine culture was its creation. For a many-sided study and exact characterization of this period it is indispensable to take into consideration everything that various ethnic groups brought into the common treasury of political and spiritual life. Among these groups one of the first places belongs to the Armenian world and to the eastern border in general. Its contribution to the common life of the Empire was great. On the other hand, it is equally true that the eastern nations drawn into the orbit of imperial life fell in their turn under the powerful influence of the imperial culture. In this sense, the relation of Armenia to Byzantium is that of a part to the whole. To trace Armenian elements in Byzantium and Byzantine elements in Armenia is a problem of equal interest to Armenologists and Byzantinists; both aspects are indispensable. Much can be overlooked through the assumption of an exclusively imperial point of view, while a narrowly Armenian outlook is equally dangerous. Imperial as well as local standards must be used for a correct evaluation of the facts.

In addition to their general imperial interests, the Armenians also had their own national and highly characteristic life. We cannot limit ourselves to the investigation of only those sides of Armenian life which related to the Empire. For the specific purpose of studying Armenian elements in Byzantium, and to fulfill simultaneously the requirements of the independent discipline concerned only with

Armenia, it is more profitable to begin with the general situation of Armenia. For this reason we shall take the Armenian lands *in toto* and investigate not only the parts subject to Byzantium, but also those within the Persian orbit.

Although partitioned politically, Armenia presented a single unit from every other point of view. To be sure, the superimposed political structure transformed the face of the nation, and the political conditions of the separate parts of the country brought about corresponding alterations in their internal life. From the fall of the Arsacids, political fragmentation became the norm, a situation which affected other aspects of life and hindered the development of a unified national spirit whose absence is continually cited by Armenian historians as the main cause of the woes which afflicted Armenia. Nevertheless, certain common elements, the foremost among them being language, writing, and a historical tradition, existed and served as the cement for a national unity which transcended political and territorial frameworks. For a correct interpretation of Armenian history it is indispensable to reckon with these conditions and to consider the fate of the component parts of Armenia both jointly and singly, that is to say in their common and separate settings. Otherwise, mistakes arising from incorrect generalizations and from the transfer to the nation as a whole of what was true only of a particular part, are inescapable. In the present work the Armenian lands have been analyzed according to their political divisions and status, and a corresponding map has been prepared [1].

The material on which we have based our study is of varying value and origin. It has been drawn both from national and foreign sources. While we acknowledge the full value of the data on Armenia found in Classical literature, we do not share the negative outlook on the Armenian material adopted by many scholars. We have avoided all bias in favour of either Classical or Armenian sources, and in doubtful cases we will treat the available material equally critically, irrespective of its origin.

The unsatisfactory character of the evidence found in Armenian literature can be explained by the particular fate of the country: the spiritual life of the Armenian people underwent such drastic alterations and was subjected to such contingencies that on occasion it seemed to break off altogether and lose all ties with the past. Disruptive political upheavals broke the chain of history to such a degree that

the next generation was sometimes as ignorant or helpless as regards its not very distant past as we ourselves. The partition of the country and the frequent interruptions in the normal course of its life hindered the development and preservation of a unified tradition. As soon as the political storms subsided, however, and the period of adversity passed, when life returned to its customary tenor, an interest in the past awoke, and the study of those documents which had survived the disturbance began in order to find a tie with Antiquity and to link the present with the past. At such times, the thoughts which turn to days gone by tend to be romantic; the less it is possible to grasp the outlines of the past, the more dimly familiar figures rise from the darkness of time, the stronger the affirmation of the romantic mood. The men of the Bagratid period did not observe accurately the heartening aspects of their own times, or the brilliance to which the documents now uncovered bear witness. Their thoughts turned to the past, to the days when the Arsacid kings were ruling and the Holy Illuminator was at the height of his activity. Under these circumstances it is impossible to expect from them a correct outlook and an understanding of their native land. The literary documents of their ancestors were re-worked in accordance with contemporary moods and outlooks. Works unsuited to a particular point of view were forgotten or destroyed. Numerous documents perished, victims of factional strife caused by the absence of confessional or political unity. The results of such conditions were, on the one hand, the early creation of historical stereotypes which have been repeated by credulous writers, and, on the other, the maintenance of an open field for subjective interpretations filled with the unavoidable attendant errors of either archaizing later phenomena or re-interpreting ancient facts in the light of subsequent outlooks and interests. To untangle these questions, to untie all these artificial knots, is a task for the literary historian. We have not avoided such investigation and we have tried to give what answers we could, insofar as this was required by the course of our work, but the historical aspect of disputed problems remains our primary interest. Therefore, we have concentrated on the degree of authenticity and the relative antiquity of factual materials without going each time into details of literary criticism. We have tried to find materials suited to our research stripped of the editorial conventions and elaborations with which they have reached us. Disregarding traditional schematizations, we have prized only historical value even when it did not coincide with literary worth.

The problem of analysis has been complicated by the fact that the historical documents had to be considered not merely from the point of view of general accuracy, but, more particularly, from that of their relation to the period investigated by us. In order to determine the suitable moment for the development of events, it has often been necessary to have recourse to the genetic method of investigation, *i.e.* to illuminate a historical problem through a study of its successive phases of development leading up to the period interesting us. This method has provided a way through confusing and occasionally irreconcilable evidence, and has demonstrated that the contradictions were often derived from a failure to maintain the chronological sequence and from the intermingling of data relating to different periods and places. As a result, our work has occasionally gone outside its framework, perhaps to the detriment of its organization. Without the genetic outlook, however, it would have been difficult to grasp the fundamental traits of the ecclesiastical organization and of the *naχarar* system in Armenia during the period under consideration, even though making full use of the existing materials. Yet it must be remembered that the *naχarar* system was an extremely characteristic component in the historical life of the Armenians and a factor of major importance. The real end of political independence in Armenia came not with the fall of the Arsacid or Bagratid royal dynasties, but with the destruction of the *naχarar* houses in the period of the Mongol invasions[1a]. Through our investigation of *naχarar* society and of the internal structure of western Armenia we have been able to trace the constants in the conditions of the Armenian lands during the period concerning us. These are indispensable for the understanding of political and other events to which we will devote the next section of our work.

In conclusion, it is perhaps necessary to mention that in publishing this work we are very far from any illusion as to its perfection. Armenian philology is still at a stage where the presentation of any interpretation or theory as unchallengeably correct is out of the question. Students of Armenian antiquity can only grope their way toward many historical problems by way of more or less successful hypotheses; some of these may be corroborated at a later date, others will fall by the way. As for our own work, we are filled with the feeling which may be expressed in the words of one of the investigators of European feudalism, "Für eine Zeit, in welcher die Quellen aus Fragmenten bestehen, wird niemand das allein Richtige gefunden zu haben glauben" [1b].

N. Adontz.

I

THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF ARMENIA

The historical setting of Armenia and her position among the surrounding nations — The partition of Armenia: *Western* or Byzantine Armenia, and *Eastern* or Persian Armenia — The line of demarcation from Dara to Theodosiopolis and beyond it to the Black Sea — The main points on this line and the frontier defense posts — Dara and Nisibis, Pheison, Attachas, and the Kleisurai, Akbas, Chlomarōn and Afumōn, Kitharizōn and Artalesōn — Erēz and Ołnut — The site of *Artalia-Endires — Theodosiopolis and Du — Boł and Pharangion — Sałagom and Ok'ałē — Tzanika and Tayk' — Egeria.

Physical environment is one of the main concerns of the discipline which deals with external history. It is generally acknowledged that the physical setting in which a nation develops constitutes one of the conditioning factors of its historical evolution. Here are to be found the motivating circumstances which determine the particular aspect of a nation and its individual historical path. For this reason, it is understandable that an analysis of this setting must precede all other historical investigation.

In the case of Armenia, as in that of every country which has not been fated to play a leading role in world politics, such an analysis has a particular significance. By physical environment we mean, of course, not only the geographical setting, but also the general historical setting; that is to say, we include in it not only the whole of the natural conditions of the country, but also its position among surrounding territorial units. Armenia was set in the midst of a group of small countries to which she was culturally and ethnically related to some degree: Iberia, Albania, Atropatenē, Syria, and Cappadocia, and her fate was similar to theirs. The territorial extent of these countries did not remain unchanged; boundaries often shifted, and they were set in any given period by the interaction of the contemporary powers. Armenian settlements spread or contracted in various directions according to cultural and political circumstances. From the moment of its appearance on the historical stage, Armenia

found herself in the midst of powerful rival states. Their influence on the internal life of Armenia was enormous; time and again political forces distorted the organic growth of the country, breaking and altering the natural course of its development. The centers and the entire character of Armenian cultural life frequently changed as a result of the political domination of another state. These changes brought about re-settlements of population and sent forth ethnic waves into corresponding directions. Scholars have often seen Armenia where this geographical term could no longer be justified by a former ethnic content, and, on the contrary, they have overlooked or failed to give sufficient weight to the presence of Armenians in other regions.

At first the Armenian movement pushed eastward and reached its maximum extent in this direction under the Arsacids. Before the acceptance of Christianity in Armenia, the possessions of the Armenian Arsacids reached as far as Ganjak, the capital of Atropatenē; that is to say, they included at least half of ancient Media [1]. To be sure, only the political boundaries reached this far, but their ethnic justification based on the pressure of Armenian elements on the frontier of Atropatenē should also be acknowledged. At a later date the tide turned in the opposite direction. In the epoch of Justinian this westward trend increased, and an important part of Cappadocia was Armenized to such a degree that the name Armenia was officially given to it. These shifts in Armenian population as well as the transfers of the center of political life resulted from pressure on the opposite border of Armenia and a corresponding loss of part of her territory. Similar periods of ethnic ebb and flow also occurred on the southern and northern borders of Armenia so that these frontiers were likewise characterized by a lack of stability. Under these circumstances, the determination of Armenia as a territorial unit among the adjacent countries — Iberia, Albania, Atropatenē, Syria, and Cappadocia —, and the tracing of their territorial inter-relations in a historical perspective, consistent with the varying evidence of each period, poses a problem whose complication requires a special investigation. Our task is limited here by the framework of the era of Justinian, which is our chief concern, and consists in a preliminary outline of the historical setting within which the life of the Armenian people took place in this period.

The continuous rivalry between the Romans and the Persians for

the domination of Armenia brought about her division between the two contestants towards the end of the fourth century and the subsequent abolition of the Armenian kingship. This division of the country in accordance with the terms of the treaty [of 387] was maintained during the following period, and up to the end of the sixth century, when the central provinces of Armenia passed from the Sasanians to Byzantium [1a]. The political partition of the country into eastern and western halves resulted in a split in the life of the Armenian people corresponding to the differences between the Byzantine and Iranian empires. The influence of the dominant state was reflected in the political structure of the regions of Armenia subject to it and was felt in many other aspects of Armenian life. Thus, for example, the inconsistent and clearly ambivalent attitude of the Armenians toward those events in the common life of the Church, which were then perturbing the whole of the civilized world, must be studied and explained in the light of the dissimilar political conditions existing within the country. It is well known that the ruling powers, not only in Byzantium but also in Persia, often intruded in the sphere of ecclesiastical life and exerted pressure to bring about a solution of dogmatic disputes favourable to various political considerations. Consequently the rigorous delimitation of the Byzantine and Persian spheres of influence in Armenia has not only a geographical but also a cultural interest [1b].

The boundary line between the Byzantine, or, as it was called in the Orient, the Roman and the Persian parts of Armenia passed next to Theodosiopolis-Erzurum in the north and Nisibis in the south; the former city remained in Roman territory and the latter in Persia. Opposite Nisibis and a little to the north on the Byzantine side stood the village of Dara, transformed into a fortified city in the time of the emperor Anastasius and named Anastasiopolis after him. According to a contemporary historian, Dara lay 98 *stadia* from Nisibis and 28 *stadia* from the Persian border [2]. At the present time, the unimportant village of Dara, or Kara-dara, stands on the ruins of the city and is at approximately the same distance from Nusaybin-Nisibis. Twenty eight *stadia* are approximately 4 1/2 versts [ca. 3.21 miles], so that Dara stood almost exactly on the frontier [3].

Nearer Armenia, the Byzantine-Persian frontier lay along the Nymphios river on whose bank stood the city of Martyropolis, one of the important frontier posts. The historian [Procopius] writes,

> In the part of Armenia called Sophanene there is a certain city known as Martyropolis which lies on the very bank of the Nymphius River, quite close to the enemy, because the Nymphius River at that point divides the Romans from the Persian territory. For across the river lies the territory of Arxanene [Arzanene], which has been subject to the Persians from early times[4].

The same account is repeated elsewhere,

> [Martyropolis] ... This city lies in the land called Sophanene, two hundred and forty stades distant from the city of Amida toward the north; it is just on the river Nymphius which divides the land of the Romans and the Persians .... This river [the Nymphius] is one very close to Martyropolis, about three hundred stades from Amida [5].

Elsewhere Procopius reckons the distance from Martyropolis to Amida as " a little more than one-day's journey ... for an unemcumbered traveller ". This coincides with the previous calculation of 240 *stadia*, since a day's march as a unit of measurement is given as 210 *stadia* by the same author [6].

Not far from Martyropolis, about 100 *stadia* from the city, stood the village of Attachas [7], while ancient Amida stood on the site of the present Diyarbakir, also called Kara-Amida in Turkish [8]. Martyropolis is identified with Miyafarkin, a city located not far from the Batmansuyu on one of the slopes of the mountain spur running from the mountains of Sasun toward Amida, and At't'aχ is still found in the mountains north of Miyafarkin [8a]. The Batmansuyu, one of the main tributaries of the Tigris, must be identified with the ancient Nymphios which flowed past Martyropolis. This city stood 240 *stadia* from Amida, while the Nymphios lay 300 *stadia* from the same city. It is evident, therefore, that Martyropolis, despite Procopius' term " ἀγχοτάτω ", did not stand directly on the river but was separated from it by a distance of about 10 versts [ca. 6.89 miles]. Miyafarkin still stands in this relation to the Batmansuyu.

In Armenian documents the city's name is given as Np'rkert and its foundation is attributed to bishop Marut'a, who presumably built it in honour of the relics of the martyrs which he had gathered [9]. This account is found in connexion with the name of the city, " *Μαρτυρ-ο-πόλις* ", which can be rendered as " the city of the martyrs ". The Armenian form *neferkert* [Np'rkert] corresponds to the

Syrian *mefrkt*, while the Armenian *muharkin* and the Syrian *mefarkin* are equivalent to the Arabic *miyyafarkin*; the first of these form should be considered the more ancient. The last syllable *kert*, *kat* is a well known Iranian word meaning *city*, and it is likely that the first part of the name likewise conceals a local word [10]. The forms cited unquestionably have a common origin.

The Mareptik-ōn of the Byzantine author Menander Protector may perhaps also be associated with these forms unless, it refers to the Armenian Mardpetakan. According to the story of Menander, the Persian king *X*usrō I deliberately detained the imperial envoy at Dara, while he himself setting out " through the provinces [κλίματα] called Arrestōn and Mareptikōn reached Persarmenia " [11]. This account seemingly referred to Arzenē [Arzanenē] and Miyafarkin: *X*usrō I was on his way from Dara to Armenia and indeed he reached the districts of Bagrewand and Tarōn, as is evident from the historian's subsequent account. The king's route lay through Arzanenē and past Miyafarkin, so that these localities might seem identifiable with the above mentioned *'Αρρεστῶν* and *Μα-ρεπ-τικῶν* (instead of *'Αρρεσῶν* and *Μα-περ-κιτῶν*). Saint-Martin was of the opinion that the former locality should be identified with the Armenian Arest, though he refused to give an explanation for the latter [12]. The term " κλίμα ", however, is more suited to the familiar province of Ṙštunik' than to Arest, an unimportant town on the shore of Lake Van. According to Menander, *X*usrō reached Bagrewand and Tarōn. If the itinerary of the Persian king has been transmitted accurately by the historian, *X*usrō must have followed the eastern shore of the lake to go from Dara to Tarōn by way of Bagrewand. Both Ṙštunik' and Mardpetakan lay along this route. We must suppose that *X*usrō, went from the neighbourhood of Dara to Ṙštunik', circled the lake and entered Mardpetakan; there he turned left into Bagrewand and went down into Tarōn. In such an interpretation, Arrestōn and Mareptikōn must be identified with Ṙštunik' and Mardpetakan, which are well known provinces in the region of Vaspurakan [12a].

In the *Armenian Geography*, the river Nymphios is called K'ałirt' and, in agreement with Procopius, it is given as the frontier separating Roman and Persian territory. According to the description given in the *Geography*, the following districts were to be found in the province of Ałjnik':

> ... Np'ret and Ałjn between which flows the river K'ałirt' called Šit'ma, which means "bloodthirsty", by the Arabs. ...
> The K'ałirt' springs from the mountains of Salin and Sasun, it flows down to separate Np'rkert from K'łimar and thus serves as a boundary between the Romans and the Persians, and it is called Šit'it'ma that is to say bloodthirsty [13].

Joshua the Stylite knows of a river named Kalaθ in the neighbourhood of Amida, which corresponds to the K'ałirt'. The river is familiar to John of Ephesus who says that the Persian fortress of Akbas [Okbas] stood on the opposite shore from Miyafarkin [14]. Another writer describes in similar terms "Okbas, a very strong fortress, situated on a precipice on the bank opposite to Martyropolis" [15]. Since this fortress stood on the bank of the Nymphios and was besieged by the Roman general Iohannes [16], it must have belonged to the Persians. From this information we may associate ancient Akbas with the modern Anōšarvān-Kala [16a]. According to John of Ephesus, the Persians had long wished to build a fortress on the Akbas mountain but had been unsuccessful because it stood within a few miles of the Roman frontier, and the Romans interfered. At last, taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, they carried out their plan, but the fortress was soon taken and destroyed by the Romans. This story is set in the reign of *X*usrō I Anōšarvān, and the city obviously owed its name to Anōšarvān, its founder.

Besides Akbas, the Persians had two additional fortified posts along the frontier: Afumōn and Chlomarōn [K'łimar] [17]. The Roman armies operated primarily against these three points during the long wars which began at the end of the sixth century and which incidentally closed with the transfer of Arzanenē to Byzantium at the accession of *X*usrō [II] in 591. The site of Afumōn is precisely known; a small settlement at the foot of mount Ilīğe [Lice], whence springs one of the streams that form the Batmansuyu, bears the name of Fum to this day [17a]. Chlomarōn lay not far from Afumōn. In 568 the Roman general Philippicus, who was besieging Chlomarōn, lifted the siege as the result of a false alarm, fled to Afumōn, and, having crossed the Nymphios, reached Amida [18]. It follows, therefore, that the besieged fortress of Chlomarōn lay east of Fum. As one of the frontier posts it lay on the defense line Akbas-Afumōn and was probably in the neighbourhood of the present Nerjiki and the Talori deresi [18a]. The description in the *Armenian Geography* points in the same direction

since, according to it, the K'ałirt' river separated both the province of Arzanenē-Ałjnik' from Miyafarkin and the latter from Chlomarōn-K'łimar. This is possible only if Chlomarōn lay across the river and to the north of Miyafarkin, since the river circled the city from the north-east, and Ałjnik' lay on the east bank opposite Miyafarkin [19]. Chlomarōn and Afumōn lay in Persian territory. In 578 Maurice took Afumōn and placed a garrison there, but up to that time it had belonged to the Persians [19a].

Opposite the Persian fortresses, on the other side of the river stood the equally strong Roman posts. In addition to Martyropolis and Attachas, the Romans possessed Pheison [Fis] with its inaccessible passes. Procopius describes it as follows,

> As one goes westerly from Martyropolis, there is a place called Pheison, which is also situated in Armenia, in the section called Sophanene, a little less than a day's journey distant from Martyropolis. Beyond this place, at about the eight milestone, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains come together to form two passes, very close to one another which they are wont to call *cleisurae*. And when travellers go from Persarmenia to Sophanene, either from the Persian territory itself or by way of the fortress of Citharizon [Kitharizon], it is necessary for them to get there by way of these two passes. The natives call the one of them Illyrisum and the other Saphchae.

According to the same historian the emperor Justinian fortified Pheison and the Kleisurai with new buildings and placed a garrison there so as to close the pass entirely to the enemy [20]. Indeed there is even today a small village named Fis not far from Miyafarkin, between Hani and Hasras. To the north of it for the whole of a mile stretch the mighty ruins of an ancient fortress which were visited in 1861 by Taylor, the British consul in Diyarbakir [21].

The Kleisurai were in the neighbourhood of Fis. During his retreat from Afumōn to Amida, Philippicus, built on the way the fortresses of Phathachon and Alaleisos in the Izala mountains, and placed garrisons there [21a]. These fortifications should undoubtedly be identified with the famous Kleisurai. The name of one of them was rendered Olor [Oloray] in Armenian, Haloras in Syrian, and is met as Haluris in Arab writers [22]. The branches of the chain of the Armenian Taurus which stretch in a great arc along the Murad-su

from the Euphrates to the shores of Lake Van and beyond, reach down toward Fis from the north. The top of the arc is marked by the tall range of the Chevtla [Çotela-Akçakara] and Darkosh and it drops to the Lice in the region of the sources of the Tigris; spurs reach down from it all the way to Fis itself[22a]. This is the region in which the passes are to be sought, according to the information of Procopius and of the Armenian writer Vardan. The Kleisurai formed the only passage through which Sophanenē could be reached from the north. At the present time, the road connecting the region of Diyarbakir with the valley of the Murad-su runs along the line Fis (or Hani) — Lice — Sahverdiyan. Below Sahverdiyan, near the source of the Ziban-Tigris, is found a curious passage in the form of a natural tunnel with stalagtite caves. The river breaks through the tunnel which is two miles long and eighty feet high; the present name of the place is Bakireyn. From Sahverdiyan the road rises abruptly into the mountains, and at a considerable height cuts through a bare, rocky, pass which marks the watershed of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Beyond the pass, the road enters the gorge of the Zülkarneyn [Berklinzülkarneynsuyu] and descends along the mountain slopes to the Murad-su near the village of Timur-aga on the very edge of the river [22b]. At Bakireyn, as well as at the entrance of the Zülkarneyn, ruins of ancient fortifications and of watch posts guarding the passes have been found. These are the very gorges which are to be identified with the ancient Kleisurai [23].

Having clarified the position of the Kleisurai and of the Persian fortress of Afumōn opposite them, we can determine exactly the frontier of the two empires on the upper Nymphios, and in the basin of the Tigris in general. It lay along the western tributaries of the Nymphios: the Lice — the Kulp-su — the Batmansuyu.

In the valley of the Arsanias-Euphrates and beyond it in the direction of Theodosiopolis, the Byzantine territory adjoined Persia in the provinces of Asthianenē and Chorzanē [Chorzianenē, Korzenē] along the fortified line Kitharizōn-Artalesōn.

> And at the place named Citharizon [Kitharizon] which is in Asthiane, as it is called, he [Justinian] established a fortress which had not existed before, a huge and extraordinarily impregnable stronghold, situated in a hilly region. He also brought into it an abundant supply of water and made all other proper arrangements for the inhabitants, ...
>
> As one goes from Citharizon to Theodosiopolis and the

> other Armenia, the land is called Chorzane; it extends for a distance of about three days' journey, not being marked off from the Persian territory by the water of any lake or by any river's stream or by a wall of mountains which pinch the road into a narrow pass, but the two frontiers are indistinct. So the inhabitants of this region, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Persians, have no fear of each other, nor do they give one another any occasion to apprehend an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming. And if the commanders (ἄρχοντες) on either side ever make an expedition against the others, when they are ordered to do so by their sovereign, they always find their neighbours unprotected. Their very populous towns are close to each other, yet from ancient times no stronghold existed on either side. It was possible, therefore, for the Persian King to proceed by this route with comparative ease and convenience in passing through Roman territory, until the Emperor Justinian blocked his way in the following manner. There was a town in the middle of the region named Artaleson which he surrounded with a very strong wall and converted into an impregnable fortress; and he stationed there detachments of regular troups ... [24].

It follows from this that Kitharizōn and Artalesōn were points through which ran the line of demarcation between the two empires, to one was assigned the defense of Asthianenē, and to the other that of Chorzanē. These two provinces lay side by side, contiguous with Persian territory, the latter adjoining the former in the north, on the side facing Theodosiopolis. Procopius counted four days' journey from Kitharizōn to Theodosiopolis, while Chorzanē stretched for a journey of only three days from the same point toward Theodosiopolis. Hence Chorzanē did not reach all the way to the city but fell short of it by a day's journey. At approximately this distance (about 40 kilometers) from Erzurum, the ancient Theodosiopolis, we find the Harhal and Haç mountains forming a wall around the sources of the Keɫi or Ličik [Perisuyu]. This natural boundary closed Chorzanē from the north, and indeed we have evidence that the town of Mormeran [or Morran], situated at the foot of these mountains, was considered to be on the border of Chorzanē [25]. Thus, the province of Chorzanē corresponded to the valley of the Keɫi river. According to the definition of the *Armenian Geography*, Chorzanē [*X*orjayn] was the region through which the river Gayl flowed down past Koɫoberd. Gayl was the ancient name of the river which is now named Keɫi [Perisuyu]

after the ancient fortress of Kol or Kolo-berd. According to Procopius, Chorzanē reached southward to Asthianenē, while the *Armenian Geography* placed Chorzanē in the north-eastern part of Armenia IV, that is to say, in the region which also included Asthianenē. To the west of Chorzanē lay Pałnatun or Pałankatun, " the province of Pałan ", on one of the tributaries of the Keli, with the city of Pałin [Bağin] which has survived to this day as a small settlement near the town of Peri. South of Pałnatun lay Balahovit, the district of the present Balu [Palu], on the Murad-Arsanias [26].

Concerning Asthianenē [Hašteank'], the *Geography* merely records that the sources of the Tigris lay in it, and the center of Asthianenē was shifted by this work into the valley of the Arsanias [26a]. In such a position it lay to the south of Chorzanē, in full agreement with Procopius' description and, since it stretched along the Murad-su, it must have borne the same relation to Chorzanē as Balahovit, further west to Pałnatun. The width of the strip occupied by Asthianenē along the river, *i.e.* the position of its boundary with Chorzanē, is important for our determination of the location of the fortresses of Kitharizōn and Artalesōn. If we bear in mind the fact that the disposition of provinces usually depended on natural frontiers — mountains or river systems — it might be natural to suppose that Asthianenē occupied the valley of the Göyniksuyu. Certain other considerations, however, compel us to admit that the entire course of this river did not lie in Asthianenē, but that its source was found in Chorzanē or in the neighbouring provinces of Persian Armenia [27].

On the Persian side Aršamunik' adjoined Asthianenē. Vahan Mamikonean, seeking help from Asthianenē, set out for Aršamunik' and halted at the village of Erēz [28]. Erēz evidently stood right on the border of Asthianenē since historians assign it either to Aršamunik' or to Asthianenē. Passing through Anzitenē and Balu in 1001, the emperor Basil [II] crossed over the Koher mountains and from there entered the province of Arsamunik' at the town of Erēz [28a]. The Koher are undoubtedly the present Karer [Kârir] mountains on the right bank of the Göyniksuyu. On the opposite bank from them, stands the village of Ołnut [Ognut], the historical Ełanç, also called Ełnut and Ołnut. In 1056 a Prince Ivanē [son of Liparit], lord of the town of Erēz in Aršamunik', making the most of a favourable opportunity, marched on the castle of Ełanç and took it by deception, but soon after he was punished for this enterprise and imprisoned

in Ełnut [29]. In both these cases the stories refer to one and the same castle since the historian John Mamikonean testifies to the identity of the two names [30], and according to the account of Aristakēs Lastivertçi, the place seized by Prince Ivanē lay not far from Erēz.

Łazar [P'arpeçi] is acquainted with a village of Ołin, or Olin according to the old transcription, near Erēz. After a night attack on the Persian camp near Erēz, Vahan Mamikonean went to spend the night in Ołin. This settlement must evidently have been very near Erēz if, as the historian puts it, Vahan had sufficient time to make the attack, carry out a massacre, and finally go forward to it [Ołin] "to spend the rest of the night" [31]. Both in distance from Erēz and in name, Ołin coincides perfectly with the fortress of Ołnut — Ołnu-berd. Some six or seven versts [ca. 4 miles] below Ołnut is found a locality given on Kiepert's map as Aziran and on Lynch's as Azizan. Both readings probably result from incorrect renderings of the Turkish diacritical marks on the correct form Arizan [32]. It seems as though we are here on the trail of the historical Erēz. All the facts coincide: Ariz-an, across the Koher — Kârir mountains (in agreement with Asołik), is near Ołin — Ołnut and on the border of Asthianenē and Aršamunik'. We know from Łazar P'arpeçi that Ołin lay north of Erēz, since after the night battle near Erēz, Vahan Mamikonean reached Ołin and marched forth from it to Vałaršapat and further on to Dwin. This account also agrees with the location of Arizan, which lies south of Ołnut.

The identification of Erēz with modern Arizan is conditioned by the problem of the position assigned to the upper course of the Gönik-suyu. The difficulty is that Vahan Mamikonean reached Erēz from the neighbourhood of Karin [Erzurum] (from the village of Arcat'i [Arzunti ?], which still exists north of Erzurum), but the road from Erzurum to Arizan follows the bank of the Göniksuyu from its source all the way to Arizan — Ołnut, and this was probably also true in Antiquity. In any case, the road could not lie further east since the lofty ranges of the Bingöl dağlari rise there. Before reaching Erēz, Vahan had had to pass through the upper valley of the Göniksuyu, if he reached the border of Asthianenē only at Erēz, the upper reaches of this river obviously could not lie in Asthianenē. Nor could they belong to the neighbouring district, since in that case Vahan would have come to Erēz through Asthianenē, that is to say through Roman territory, and this contradicts the evidence of the historian who says

that the Mamikonean prince had not crossed the frontier: he wished only to go " in the direction of the frontier of Asthianenē [Hašteank'] ", that is to say into Aršamunik', and in fact " he went toward the border of Asthianenē, came and stopped in the district of Aršamunik' in the village of Erēz ". According to the *Armenian Geography*, Aršamunik' lay north of Tarōn near the Srmanç mountains, the present Bingöl. From all these indications Aršamunik' may be defined as the district of the Bingöl stream and the upper reaches of the Göniksuyu [32a].

South of Aršamunik', a narrow band between Tarōn and Asthianenē formed the next district of Palun [Palunik'], with its capital Kowark or Kowars, now Guvers near Boğhan, which determines the position of Palun along the course of the Menaskut. The *Armenian Geography* is not familiar with Palun and attributes its territory to Tarōn [32b]. Incidentally, [Asołik], the historian of the house of Tarōn, who is thoroughly familiar with the topography of both Palun and Tarōn, lists the city of Porpēs as part of Tarōn, whereas Porpēs, the present Borbas, stood on the Menaskut river south of Kowars and was, therefore, part of Palun. Zenob Glak, another local historian, assigns Kowars, which he himself acknowledges to be the capital of Palun, to the lands of the Mamikonean, that is to say to Tarōn [33]. What seems to have occured is that Palun passed to the Mamikonean family at a later date, and consequently failed to be included in the *Geography* as an independent district. In the west Palun bordered on Asthianenē and was separated from it by the natural boundary of the Navšan pass (4,636 feet) [33a]. Both Aršamunik' and Palun unquestionably lay in Persian, that is to say in Eastern Armenia, since they are mentioned as taking part in the fifth century rebellion against the Persians. Both districts formed the extreme border strip of this portion of Armenia.

Thus the line of demarcation between Eastern and Western Armenia ran from Fum, over the Çotela mountains, through the Navšan pass, to Arizan — Ołnut; then, crossing the Göniksuyu, it went up the right bank of the river to the western slopes of the Srmanç-Bingöl mountains. Along such a line the frontier coincides with the mountain range running from the Euphrates to the Bingöl. This coincidence between the political and natural boundaries justifies our conclusions.

The problem of the location of Kitharizōn and Artalesōn remains unsolved. It is evident to us that the districts in which they were

situated were divided from each other along the line Erēz-Ołnut, by the Kârir mountains facing them. The border land open on all sides, described by Procopius, must be the valley irrigated by the Göyniksuyu. According to the indications found in Procopius, the fortress of Kitharizōn should be sought in the Kârir mountains and must be identified with one of the modern fortified localities, Sheikh-Selim-kala, Aznaberd, or Astłberd (*i.e.* the fortress of Sheikh-Selim, the castle of Azn, or the castle of Astł), which are found not far from each other on the northern slopes of these mountains [33b].

Artalesōn, according to the account of the same historian, should then be sought further north, nearer to Manałi. The Armenian form of Ἀρταλεσῶν must have been **artali-s*, **artali-k'*, a form similar in composition to *mardałi-k'*, *manałi-k'*, the names given to the districts adjoining Chorzanē. Mardalik' extended along the northern slopes of the Bingöl in the north, as did Aršamunik' in the south. The original stream of the Araxes, the Murç, now called Eğri or Aras, had its source in this district, and in the west, Mardałik' adjoined the Mełedux range, identified with the Harhal mountains, which we have already mentioned. In the north it was separated from Karin by the Ayc-Ptkunk' mountains, which correspond to the mountain range forming a half-moon south of Erzurum [34]. Thus, Mardałik' embraced the watershed of three rivers: the Aras, the Ličik [Perisuyu] and the Tuzlasuyu. Furthermore, the Harhal range provided a natural wall for Mardałik', and for Persian or Eastern Armenia at the same time [34a]. Manralik' [sic], in the west, and Chorzanē, in the south, abutted the Harhal mountains at an angle. In our opinion the part of Chorzanē touching Manralik' and Mardałik' at the Harhal mountains must have born in antiquity the related name of *Artalia-Artalik' and have contained the similarly named fortress of Ἀρταλεσ-ῶν.

The village of Ἀραβεσσῶν, mentioned in *X*usrō Anōšarvān's campaign of 576, has the same location as Artalesōn. In that year *X*usrō entered Armenia through Arcn and Miyafarkin, crossed the provinces of Bagrewand and Tarōn, and, having advanced toward Basean, broke into Roman Armenia on the side of Theodosiopolis. Taking the Romans by surprise,

> he established a camp in the village called Arabesson, in the province south of the city [Theodosiopolis] while the Roman troops, as many as were to be found there at the time, spread to the north in the province called * at the foot of the mountain [35].

Judging from its surroundings Arabessōn is none other than Artalesōn. The narrator of the above campaign relates that the Persian king highly prized the strategic position of Theodosiopolis, which dominated Armenia and Iberia, and tried to obtain mastery of it. To achieve this, Xusrō's plan apparently was to cut off Theodosiopolis from the nearest fortified posts, Artalesōn and Kitharizōn. For this purpose he halted south of Theodosiopolis in the neighbourhood of the locality which we have called *Artalia. On the basis of this we believe that Arabessōn is merely a distortion of Artalesōn, (*Ἀραβεσσ-ῶν* instead of *Ἀρ(τ)αλεσσ-ῶν*). This distortion obviously reflects the influence of the name of the famous Cappadocian city of *Ἀράβισσος*. The locality which we have identified as *Artalia is known at the present time by the name of Endires, which is probably the Turkish pronunciation of Artales. Here, at the foot of the Haç mountain, stood the fortress of Artalesōn, approximately in the neighbourhood of the modern Melikân [36].

The distance between Artalesōn and Kitharizōn was not great, approximately a day's journey. Before the campaign of Dwin in 542, Roman troops had been distributed among the frontier posts: one regiment stood at Kitharizōn, another, not very far from it in Chorzanē, specifically at Artalesōn, and the third at Fis. The regiment from Chorzanē crossed the frontier first without informing the others; the one from Kitharizōn, having heard of this, followed on the very next day; but the troups stationed at Fis heard of the invasion only late since "[they] had encamped far away from the rest of the army" [37]. Consequently we see that Kitharizōn lay closer to Artalesōn than to Fis — a situation which in no way contradicts our conclusions as to the position of Kitharizōn and Artalesōn. According to one interesting indication, Kitharizōn was situated between Syria and Armenia [38]. If Armenian claims reached as far as Nisibis, then it is understandable that the Syrians allowed similar exaggerations. If, according to this theory, we take the Murad-Arsanias as the frontier of Syria, we will have to shift Kitharizōn to the banks of the Murad. The small settlement of Darizoa now found in Çapakçur might perhaps be identified with Kitharizōn (from k-Tariz, with the dropping of the first vowel) [38a], but we think it more likely that the historian included into Syria all five Armenian satrapies, one of which is known to have been Asthianenē. In such a case it becomes understandable that Kitharizōn, which lay on the northern border of Asthianenē, should

have been considered as having stood between Syria and Armenia.

Past Mardałik', in the region of Theodosiopolis and beyond, the frontier ran along the mountain range stretching from Theodosiopolis to the Çoruh river. To the right of Erzurum, the Deveboynu, and the Kargapazari mountains follow each other toward the north [38a]. The latter turn toward the west at the peak of Kandil (10,230 feet), their northern most and highest point, to merge with the Dumlü range. The Dumlü extends above Erzerum toward the banks of the Çoruh above Sper. Basean, and the districts of Tayk': Buχa and Ok'ałē, facing Roman Karin and Šałagom, bordered the frontier on the Persian side. On the frontier itself, directly opposite Theodosiopolis, stood the village of Du which served simultaneously as the frontier between Karin and Basean. We know from the *History of Vahan Mamikonean* that the Persian commander pursuing the Armenian rebels stopped in the village of Du, which the historian Łazar P'arpeçi calls the frontier between the two kingdoms. Vahan, the leader of the rebels, was stationed not far off in the village of Mknařinč. Another Persian general named Hazarawuχt, followed in Vahan's steps and came to the villages of Giwłik and Vardašēn in the district of Ok'ałē. By this time, Vahan was already beyond the frontier in the Roman district of Šałagom, though still close to Hazarawuχt. The Persian pursuit proved unsuccessful and they went down from Ok'ałē to the village of Du in Basean, while Vahan crossed to the Mamikonean village of Całik and planned to advance in the direction of Asthianenē [38c]. The villages mentioned above still exist. Du, near Erzurum, at the foot of the Kargapazari mountains is called Tuy according to the modern pronunciation, which is probably a genitive form. It consists of two settlements, greater and lesser Tuy, almost side by side. A little to the east, stands the village of Kurnuç, which is undoubtedly to be identified with the historical Mknařinč, whose distance from Du, calculated by the historian as two parasangs (twelve kilometers), corresponds to the location of Kurnuç. North of mount Kandil, on the frontier itself, stood and still stands ancient Całki [Zağki] (genitive of *całik* - flower). Two other villages are located higher in the valley of the Tortum çayi, in the vicinity of the city of Tortum itself, and are called by their ancient names of Gełik and *Vardišēn. These villages determine the location of Ok'ałē as well as that of the Roman district of Šałagom, which lay " nearby - (*մոտ... ի նմա*) ", and therefore, on the other side of the mountains, in the valley of the Serçeme deresi, between Karin and Sper [39].

Facing the Roman fortress of Theodosiopolis on the Persian side, stood the castle of Boł, Boł-berd, in the province of Basean, not far from Theodosiopolis. The wives of the Kamsarakan princes captured by the Persians at the time of Vahan Mamikonean were imprisoned there [39a]. Boł is likewise well known to western historians and it played an enormous part in the political events of the sixth century. Its location is not exactly known. According to one indication it stood in Basean, according to another, "near the border of Theodosiopolis" [40]. It is usually associated with the modern Hasankale, the site of the former city of Vałaršakert, where the kat'ołikos Nersēs [III] the Builder had erected a church dedicated to the Mother of God [41]. It is unlikely, however, that ancient Bołberd should subsequently have been called Vałaršakert, since this name cannot by its very nature be late in origin, unless the Persian king Vałarš (Valarses, 484-488) rebuilt the fortress of Boł to offset Anastasius' fortification of Theodosiopolis, and renamed it Vałaršakert (the city of Vałarš). In view of the similarity in sound of their names, it seems more profitable to seek Boł closer to the neighbouring district of Buχa in the region of Tayk'. Buχa occupied the source of one of the branches of the Oltuçayi in the vicinity of Basean, and a fortress called Buğakale still exists in the Kargapazari mountains, on the border of the two districts. If Buğa is derived from Buχa, Buğakale, must be the ancient Bołberd [42].

The region of Pharangion, where gold was mined for the Persian king, was indissolubly tied to the political fate of Bołberd. We know that this region lay in Armenian territory, near the border of Tzanika [Canet'i], where the Boas or Voas river had its source. The Boas corresponds to the Voh of the *Armenian Geography* and is none other than the Çoruh, or rather the upper course of this river. The sources of the Çoruh are found in the neighbourhood of Ispir. Ancient sources relate that gold mines, which had interested Alexander the Great, were to be found in Suspiritis. According to these indications, Pharangion must coincide with the Armenian Sper, the classical Suspiritis, and the denunciation of Vahan Mamikonean in an affair dealing with the extraction of gold probably refers to the mines of Sper. Pharangion was Persian property. Under Kavad, the supervision of the gold mining was given to an Armenian named Simeon, who later under Justinian, went over to the Romans and handed Pharangion over to them. At the same time Prince Isaac Kamsarakan

also surrendered to them the fortress of Boł [43]. To be precise, the Persians, at Pharangion, bordered not on Roman but on Can [Tzan] lands. Tzanika or Khaldia, the land of the Tzans or Khaldians, was a mountainous province consisting of the Parhar range, which lay between the Çoruh, and of the coastal strip of the Black Sea as far as Trebizond. In the valley of the Çoruh, Tzanika bordered on Persian territory and on the province of Tayk' from Pharangion-Ispir, to the fortress of T'uχars, now Hars [43a]. Beyond this point Tzanika adjoined the district of Klarǰet'i in Gugark' along the Ardanuç river.

Still further, the Çoruh river entered Egr (Egeria), according to the description of the *Armenian Geography*; there, it flowed through the districts of Nigal, Mruł, and Mrit, and finally emptied into the sea [44]. In our opinion the name of Nigal has been preserved in that of the small Murgulsuyu river which flows into the Çoruh from the left side, below Artvin. One of the tributaries of the Adzharis-Tskali is the Marat, which bears the same name as the Mrit, and the Mruł may be connected with the Imerehevi deresi (Mer-uli) [44a]. In other words, the three districts coincide with the valleys of the streams bearing the same names on the lower Çoruh, between the mouth of the Imerehevi deresi and the sea. These districts made up the province of Egeria *par excellence*. The name Eger-Egeria, has survived to this day in the form Adzhar-ia, with the usual transformation of the guttural *g* into a palatal *dzh*. The term Egeria is also used by the *Armenian Geography* in a broader sense to designate the entire eastern shore [of the Black Sea] from Abkhazia all the way to Trebizond and to include Tzanika [Canet'i] as well. The eastern bank of the Çoruh along which lay Tayk' and Klarǰet'i belonged to the Persians. In fact we cannot tell whether Tayk' was restricted to the eastern bank of the river or whether it also included part of the west bank, a conclusion which some indications seem to support [45]. In the latter case, the foot of the Parhar range should be taken as the frontier line of the Persian possessions, and Tzanika should begin beyond this point· Tzanika, and in general Egeria, in the broader sense, were left to their own devices. Procopius found the Tzans "settled on Roman territory" but still enjoying freedom [46]. The Tzans were finally conquered and forced to recognize the imperial authority only under Justinian, who built the fortress of Petra on the border of Lazika, on the sea shore at the northern estuary of the Çoruh. In terms of

the limits of influence of the emperor and of the Persian king rather than in terms of their actual territorial possessions, Petra may be taken as the border of the Empire in this period. In actual fact, however, a bitter struggle for the mastery of this border was carried on with varying success between the two rulers during the entire century [46a].

Thus from Nisibis to the Çoruh, the lands of Armenia were divided into two halves: Western (or Roman) and Eastern (or Persian) Armenia, along the line which we have just traced.

V

ADMINISTRATION : WESTERN ARMENIA BEFORE JUSTINIAN

The general structure of the Empire — Civilian and military powers, and their instruments.

I. Armenia I and II in the administrative hierarchy — Their military position — The *dux Armeniae* — The contingents under his command and their size — The distribution of troops within the country — Military garrisons, primary and secondary — The ranks of the military commanders — The position of the *dux Armeniae* in the military hierarchy — His *officium* — The *Codicillus dignitatum* of the vicar of Pontica and of the *dux Armeniae*.

II. The administrative and legal position of the *Satrapies* and of *Armenia Interior* — The institution of *foederati* based on a *foedus non aequum* — Variations in this institution — The meaning of *foederati* in the Byzantine Empire — The satraps as *foederati* — Characteristics of an alliance with the Empire — The creation of satrapal law — Aspects of a treaty marking entrance into the Empire — *Armenia Interior* as a *civitas foederata* — Her incorporation into the Empire, its terms, and the treaty on which they were based — Freedom from taxation and from the *aurum coronarium* — The problem of the φόροι δημόσιοι — The *comes Armeniae* — The rank of count and the limits of his legal powers — The problem of the δημόσια ἀρμενιακά — The relation of the *comes* to the *naχarars* — The *naχarar* system in *Armenia Interior*.

I

Diocletian has rightly been identified as the creator of the internal structure of the Roman Empire as it is found in the period of Justinian [1]. His renovation of the entire administrative machinery was continued by his successors and received particular stimulation at the time of Theodosius I. The results of this activity spread over a full century are known from the famous *Notitia Dignitatum*, a document dating from the beginning of the fifth century [2]. This document contains nothing but a detailed listing of all the dignities and offices of the civilian and military administration of the Empire, yet it provides us with a clear idea of the administrative machinery created by the Christian emperors, and which can best be described by the term bureaucracy. The principle of autocracy proclaimed by the

Empire could only produce such a system suited to the aims of absolutism, since the creation of an extensive network of officials would provide a larger number of instruments through which power could operate. On the other hand, the division of power among numerous officials hierarchically subordinated to one another increased the control maintained over them and, therefore, precluded the possibility of opposition.

In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, civilian authority is separated from the military and constitutes a separate administration. This reform is attributed to Constantine the Great [3]. From the civilian point of view, the whole Empire was divided into four prefectures headed by praetorian prefects (*praefecti praetorio*). These prefectures were subdivided into dioceses governed by substitutes for the prefects (*vicarii praefectorum*). Finally the dioceses in turn were divided into provinces, each of which had its governor called *praeses*, ἄρχων in Greek.

In the eastern part of the Empire were found the *Praefectus praetorio Orientis*, and the *Praefectus praetorio Illyrici*. The first of these, *i.e.* the prefecture of the East, contained five dioceses: Oriens, Aegyptus, Asiana, Pontica, Thracia. Eleven provinces, among which were included the Armenian lands: Armenia I, Armenia II, as well as Pontus Polemoniacus, made up the diocese of Pontica:

> Sub dispositione viri spectabilis vicarii dioceseos Ponticae provinciae infrascriptae: 1. Bithynia, 2. Galatia, 3. Paflagonia, 4. Honorias, 5. Galatia Salutaris, 6. Cappadocia prima, 7. Cappadocia secunda, 8. Helenopontus, 9. Pontus Polemoniacus, 10. Armenia prima, 11. Armenia secunda [3a].

At the head of Armenia I and II stood *praesides* subordinated to the vicar.

The military divisions of the Empire did not always coincide with the civilian ones. The highest power there was divided between military commanders known as *magistri militum*. There were five such commanders in the eastern half of the Empire according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Of these, two were in the capital, *magistri militum praesentales*, and three in the provinces: in Thrace, Illyricum, and the East, *magistri militum per Thracias, per Illyricum, per Orientem*. The *magistri militum* had the same military authority as the praetorian prefects in the civilian sphere.

The offices below that of the *magistri* were filled by dukes and counts, *duces, comites rei militaris*. Within this hierarchy, these were the equals of the vicars, since both made up the rank of *spectabiles*, but the territories under their authority were noticeably smaller than the dioceses. From this point of view, the dukes were rather the equivalent of provincial governors. We do not know the precise relation of the dukes or counts to the *magistri militum*; there is no indication on this subject in the *Notitia*. We presume that they were subordinated to them, but how and to what degree is unclear [4].

The dukes as well as the *magistri militum* were in charge of a certain number of military contingents. The forces of the *magister militum per Orientem* were defined as follows:

> Sub dispositione viri illustris magistri militum per Orientem:
> Vexillationes comitatenses decem...
> Auxilia palatina duo...
> Legiones comitatenses [IX]...
> Item pseudocomitatenses [XI] [5].

As is well known, the regular army was composed of legions. The *Notitia Dignitatum* distinguishes three categories of legions: *palatinae*, or court, *comitatenses*, or camp, and *pseudo comitatenses*, or quasi-camp. Originally the first two terms designated soldiers of the imperial guard, the former served at court, the latter during campaigns, and at that time their number was limited. Subsequently both *palatinae* and *comitatenses* outgrew their etymological sense and made up the core of the active army as opposed to the border or garrison troops, *milites limitanei*. Legions organized according to the pattern of the *comitatenses* but not enjoying equal priviledges were called *pseudo comitatenses*. They did not receive a *majus stipendium* as did the *palatinae* and *comitatenses*. According to the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* of the military writer Vegetius Renatus (383-450), a legion consisted of 6,100 infantrymen and 726 cavalrymen. Johannes Lydus, a writer of the sixth century, likewise gives 6,000 men in a legion, and according to his information, a *vexillatio* was a cavalry squadron of 500 horsemen, while an *ala* was a detachment of 600 horsemen [6]. In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, there are mentions of *vexillationes palatinae* and *vexillationes comitatenses*, but there are no references to *vexillationes pseudo comitatenses*. At that time the cavalry had seemingly been removed from the first two categories to form separate squadrons, while it

remained part of the *pseudo comitatenses* as before. According to the explanation of Vegetius, the *auxilia* were troups drawn from foreigners in the Empire [7].

From this we obtain:

10 *vexillationes* of 500 each giving 5,000
9 *comitatenses* of 6,000 each giving 54,000
10 *pseudo comitatenses* of 6,000 each or 60,000
From 726 to 500 horsmen each or 7,260 to 5,000
2 auxilia, the number in which is indeterminate.

Bearing in mind the fact that legions were not always at full strength, we may still say that an army of up to 100,000 men, in round numbers, stood under the orders of the *magister militum per Orientem* [7a]. This army was presumably spread through the provinces in divisions headed by *viri spectabiles, duces* or *comites rei militaris* [8]. This assumption would provide solution for the problem of the relation of the *duces* to the *magistri*, and this is the system found in the Western Empire, where the dukes and counts were subordinated to the *magister*, as the *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates, " *sub dispositione viri illustris magistri peditum praesentalis*; *comites limitum infrascriptorum sex, duces limitum infrascriptorum decem* " [8a]. No such indication exist, however, for the Eastern Empire, and the military forces which were at the disposal of the dukes and military counts are not included in the number of legions placed " *sub dispositione magistri* ", a circumstance which argues rather in favour of a certain independence on the part of the dukes as military leaders.

There was only one duke in the diocese of Pontica with its eleven provinces, the *dux Armeniae* whose power extended over three provinces, Armenia I and II and Pontus Polemoniacus. Nothing is known of the military organization of the other provinces or dioceses. In the diocese of Oriens, in which there were fifteen provinces, only some of them had special dukes: *dux Palestinae, Foenices, Arabiae Euphratensis et Syriae, Osrhoenae, Mesopotamiae* [8b]. The remaining provinces, in which no special military officials were stationed, probably came under the direct supervision of the *magister militum*, and his own troups were disposed in these particular provinces.

The subordination of the dukes to the *magistri* expressed itself more in judicial matters than in specifically military ones. Soldiers accused of capital offenses were under the jurisdiction of either the

magister or of the duke, depending on the army to which they belonged. When a duke or a military count was the accused, the matter was heard by the *magister* in person. Hence the *magistri* had legal jurisdiction over the dukes [9].

According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* the *Dux Armeniae* disposed of the following forces:

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Armeniae.
Equites sagitarii, Sabbu.
Equites sagitarii, Domana.
Praefectus legionis quintadecima Apollinaris, Satala.
Praefectus legionis duodecima fulminatae, Melitena.
In Ponto:
Praefectus legionis primae Ponticae, Trapezunta.
Ala Rizena, Aladaleariza.
Ala Theodosiana, apud Auaxam.
Ala felix Theodosiana, Siluanis.
Et quae de minore laterculo emittuntur:
Ala prima Augusta Colonorum, Chiaca.
Ala Auriana, Dascusa.
Ala prima Ulpia Dacorum, Suissa.
Ala secunda Gallorum, Aeliana.
Ala castello Tablariensi constituta.
Ala prima praetoria nuper constituta.
Cohors tertia Ulpia miliaria Petraeorum, Metita.
Cohors quarta Raetorum, Analiba.
Cohors miliaria Bosporiana, Arauraca.
Cohors miliaria Germanorum, Sisila.
Ala prima Iovia felix, Chaszanenica.
Ala prima felix Theodosiana, Pithae.
Cohors prima Theodosiana, Ualentia.
Cohors Apuleia civium Romanorum, Ysiporto.
Cohors prima Lepidiana, Caene-Parembole.
Cohors prima Claudia equitata, Sebastopolis.
Cohors secunda Ualentiana, Ziganne.
Cohors, Mochora.

Officium autem habet ita:
Principem de scola agentem in rebus.
Numerārios et adiutores eorum.
Commentariensem.
Adiutorem.
A libellis siue subscribendarium.
Exceptores et caeteros officiales.
Dux Armeniae VII (evectiones) [9a].

Under the *dux Armeniae* there were:

2 regiments of archer cavalry
3 legions, or counting 6,000 men a piece = 18,000 men.
11 divisions of cavalry, at 600 each = 6,600 men.
10 cohorts of infantry, at 600 each = 6,000 men.

of these, the cavalry, two legions, six divisions or *alae*, and four cohorts were stationed in Armenia. The remainder, one legion, five divisions, and six cohorts were stationed in Pontus Polemoniacus.

The main forces were concentrated at Satala in Armenia I, and in Melitenē, the metropolis of Armenia II. One legion was stationed in each of these cities. In addition, one regiment of *equites sagitarii* apiece was stationed at Domana, near Satala, and, nearer to Melitenē, at Saba-Şepik near Arapkir. The cohorts and *alae* were distributed among other points already familiar to us in the country. One cohort apiece stood in Analiba, Arauraca, Sisila, Metita; one *ala* each in Chiaca-Ciaca, Dascusa, Aeliana, (probably Arna), Suissa, Tablariensis. The *ala prima praetoria* must have been stationed at the place called *ad praetorium* in the *Itineraries* [10].

The components of the army of the *dux Armeniae* found in the *Notitia Dignitatum* were very ancient in date. Its core, the fifteenth and twelfth legions had been transferred to Armenia together with other contingents during the Roman-Parthian wars in the days of Corbulo and Tiridates and probably remained in Armenia after that time for the defense of the country at its two main strategic points, Satala and Melitenē [10a]. Both legions and their titles, Apollinaris and Fulminata, were known to Cassius Dio, who placed them in Cappadocia, evidently meaning Lesser Armenia by this [11]. In the *Itinerarium Antonini* we read, "*Satala leg. XV Apollinaris*" [11a] which indicates the sources used by the compilers of itineraries. Procopius testifies to the fact that the twelfth legion had stood at Melitenē from ancient times [12]. The *ala prima Augusta Colonorum* probably took its name from the city of Koloneia [Colonia], founded by Pompey. The *ala Auriana* was named either after the city of Auria in Spain, or after its first commander. According to Tacitus, the *ala Auriana* had been sent to protect the banks of the river which flowed between Rhaetia and Noricum [13]. The cohort *quarta Raetorum* was composed of the same Rhaetians and was stationed at Analiba. The cohort *quinta Raetorum* was to be found in Egypt. The *ala prima Ulpia Dacorum* bore the name of Ulpius Trajanus, who had conquered

the Dacians and raised several divisions among them. The *cohors tertia Ulpia Petraeorum*, which had been transferred to Metita in Armenia, not directly from Dacia, but from the city of Petra, had the same origin.

Miliaria, as an adjective applied to a cohort, *miliaria Petraeorum, miliaria Bosporiana, miliaria Germanorum,* meant, according to the explanation of Vegetius, that the given cohort consisted of a thousand picked soldiers. A legion usually numbered ten cohorts of which one, usually the first, outshone the others in the number and quality of its soldiers and contained 1105 foot soldiers and 132 auxiliary horsemen [14]. Concerning the location of these troops, we must note that the rubric of the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists three main posts in Pontus: Trapezus, Auaxa and Siluana, and four in Armenia; while the text adds a fourth post in Pontus, Aladaleariza, to the three already listed. The evidence of the rubric is supported by the sketch appended to the text, where only three fortresses are indicated. We must conclude, therefore, the text is incorrect [15].

Of the garrison posts, Trapezos was a famous city at the mouth of the Pyxites river, now the Değirmendere. Auaxa is unquestionably the present village of Avaza or Avsa, standing according to Lynch, at the foot of the Kolat dağlari, among the sources of the Pyxites [15a]. Siluanis, the ablative case of Siluana, is probably the Solonenica of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, this, in turn, is the adjectival form of Salona. Siluanis should perhaps be identified with the village of Süle at the source of the Harmut-su [Gümüşane deresi], near Kalecik, where the ruins of an ancient fortress can still be seen [16]. To the west of the Kolat dağlari lie the Zigana dağlari, and the road from Trebizond to Ardasa [Torul] crosses the Zigana pass at 6,640 feet. A Roman cohort stood at the entrance to the pass at the little settlement of Zigana, which still bears its ancient name. Ancient Mochora stands to this day east of Zigana, and was also the station of a Roman cohort [16a]. Chaszanenica is equivalent to the Gizenica of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (cf. Chiaca = Ciaca) and may be related to the modern Hadzana, a village on the Değirmendere [17]. Ysiportos, (= to the Ὕσσου λιμήν of Arrian, later Susarmia, now Surmene) is a port on the Black Sea east of Trebizond [18]. Kainē Parembolē (*Καινή παρεμβολή* = new camp) is hardly a proper name. Pithia and Sebastopolis are thought by some

scholars to be the Laze fortresses of Pitiunt and Sebastopolis, but it has rightly been objected to this that those fortresses were not yet subject to the Romans at the time of the composition of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and that the power of the *dux* could not have extended so far [19]. The connexion of Pithia with the Thia of the *Itinerarium Antonini* is probable. Sebastopolis, Ualentia and Kainē Parembolē, all localities with names that replaced the indigenous ones, remain unidentified [19a].

The commanders of the armed forces stationed at Sabbu, Domana, Satala, Melitenē, Trapezos, (Aladaleariza), Auaxa and Siluana were of a different rank from the commanders of the remaining units, namely of the cohorts and the *alae*. The names of the former are listed in the *laterculus maius* and those of the latter in the *laterculus minus*. *Laterculus* was the name of the official list or register of all administrative and court officials, with the indication of their office, rank, and title. Appointment to a given rank was made by the emperor himself by means of a special diploma, the *codicillus dignitatum*, in which the *mandata principi*, that is to say the authority and nature of the given office as well as its outward signs, *insignia*, were clearly defined. After this the name of the newly appointed official was inscribed in the *Laterculus*. A personal petition to the Emperor was required to obtain the diploma, and he presented it in a solemn audience. For lesser offices, however, such diplomas were presented not by the Emperor but by the *Quaestor*. The differentiation between the *Laterculus maius* and the *Laterculus minus*, the greater and lesser register, was made in accordance with this practice. In the first were recorded the names of officials appointed directly be the Emperor, and it was kept by the first secretary (*primicerius notarium*) in his own chancery. The lesser *Laterculus* contained the list of offices filled at the discretion of the *Quaestor* and was kept in his office [20]. Among the officials subordinate to the *Dux Armeniae*, the commanders of all ten cohorts and of eight (out of ten) of the *alae* were listed in the *Laterculus minus*, or, as this was expressed, "*de minore laterculo emittentur*". On the other hand, the commanders of two of the *alae*, those at Auaxa and Siluana, together with the prefects of the legions and of the cavalry belonged in the *Laterculus maius* [20a].

The *Dux Armeniae* himself occupied a position of honour in the hierarchical list; he belonged in the rank of *spectabilis*. The earlier

designations of rank, the senatorial *clarissimus*, and the equestrian *perfectissimus* had undergone radical transformations [by this period]. With the disappearance of the equestrian order, the title of *perfectissimus* became the prerogative of officials of the lowest category. The senatorial *clarissimus* acquired three levels or grades: the first and highest: *clarissimus et illustris*, the second: *clarissimus et spectabilis*, and the third: merely *clarissimus*. From these developed the subsequent ranks of *illustris*, *spectabilis*, *clarissimus* and *perfectissimus*. Among the *illustres* were all the praetorian prefects and *magistri militum*; among the *spectabiles* were the vicars and the military dukes and counts; among the *clarissimi* were the provincial governors (*praesides*) and the prefects of the legions. Hence, the *Dux Armeniae*, like all the other dukes, was assigned the title of *spectabilis*, the second in order of importance. By his side, as by the side of every representative of authority, was to be found a certain staff of assistants, his *officium*, or as we would say his chancery. At the head of this *officium* stood a *princeps*, who was in charge of the chancery. He was chosen from the *schola* of the *agentum in rebus*, as is indicated in the case of the *officium* of the Duke of Armenia. This *schola* was a sort of militia of 100 or more men, *agentes in rebus*, who carried official messages in the provinces and were under the authority of the minister of the court (*Magister officiorum*). The chancery of the Duke was divided into departments (*scrinia*) which controlled different branches of the administration: the *numerarii* — officials in the department of finances, the *commentariensis* — the head of the department of capital affairs, the *a libellis* — who received the petitions addressed to the Duke, the *exceptores* — executive officials, and others [21].

The *Notitia Dignitatum* has preserved the description of the identifying insignia of each office, presented to the corresponding person together with the imperial diploma (*codicillus dignitatem*). From these we give the insignia of the vicar of Pontica and of the Duke of Armenia [21a]. The insignia of the vicar consisted in eleven figures representing the eleven provinces subordinate to the vicar of the diocese. These figures were differentiated from one another by the combination of their colours. Above them lay a book on a stand; this was the *liber mandatorum*, and next to it a column which in most cases bears two effigies (the emperor and empress ?), but occasionally four, as is the case for the vicar of the diocese of Asia.

The insignia of the Duke of Armenia consisted in the tracing of

the seven fortresses, four Armenian and three Pontic, where the representatives of the military authorities listed in the *Laterculus maius* had their station. The stations of officials listed in the *Laterculus minus* were not shown on this insignia. The Duke of Armenia had a *liber mandatorum* without a stand, as was the custom for all dukes. Officers of the rank of *illustris* had a portrait on the binding of the book. presumably that of the emperor, while other officials had the following inscription instead of the portrait:

FL
INTALL
COMORD
PR

The first attempt to explain the puzzling letters was made by the famous scholar Pancirol who read:

Felix liber
iniunctus notariis tribunis a laterculo
continens mandata ordine
primicerii [21b]

Böcking offered a different deciphering:

felicitatis laetitiae
qui imperatorii numinis, tutela Augustorum larium
Civitates omnes maiestati obediant regiae domini
populi Romani [21c]

In addition he refered to a curious passage in the history of Cedrenus who, speaking of the division of the Empire between Honorius and Arcadius, states that the cipher KONOB on Roman coins should read "*civitates omnes nostrae obediant venerationi*" [22]. Might this serve as a key for the deciphering of the mysterious letters on the *liber mandatorum*? The reading of the last part seems plausible, but in general the riddle still awaits a solution [22a]. Next to the book lies a rolled sheet of parchement, whose meaning is likewise unknown.

II

At the time when the lands of Lesser Armenia formed an organic part of the Empire, and had adhered to it through all the ties of

political life, the provinces of the former Greater Armenia, *i.e.* the Satrapies and Armenia Interior, bore the characteristics of independent possessions, externally attached to the Empire but entirely autonomous in internal life and organization [22b].

From a general administrative point of view, the legal position of these provinces may be said to belong to the category of component units of the Empire defined from antiquity as being allied (*foederatae*) and free (*liberae*). The precise relations of allied territories to the Romans were determined by the terms of a treaty binding them to the Empire, as is shown by the very term, *foedus non aequum*. Through this treaty the inferior party won for itself certain autonomous privileges upon its entrance into the composition of the Empire. Similar privileges were enjoyed by the so called free nations (*liberae*), which were differentiated from allied or federated ones by the fact that they received their liberties directly from the highest, imperial, authority, whereas the freedom of the *foederati* was based on a treaty. To express this in legal terms, the *foederati* enjoyed their liberty as a legal right, while the free nations received theirs by decree. The nature of the self-government left to the *foederati* consisted in: *libertas* — administrative independence, and *autonomia* — legislative power and judicial competence. They were acknowledged complete masters in their own territory, were free from taxation, did not have a Roman governor, and did not maintain a Roman garrison. The main obligation binding them to the Empire was that of furnishing armed contingents and in general rendering military aid to the Empire. Such is the theoretical formulation of the question. In practice, however, the prerogatives just noted and granted *de jure* for free nations were differently interpreted in specific instances. Side by side with autonomous nations free from taxation (*αὐτόνομοι καὶ φόρων ἀτελεῖς*) or *liberae et immunes*) were found others which, although considered free were compelled to furnish contributions to the imperial treasury. Accordingly, a distinction was made between *civitates foederatae, civitates liberae et immunes* and *civitates stipendiariae, i.e.* nations who were (*ἔνσπενδοι, συμμαχικοί*) as opposed to others who were (*ὑπήκοοι, ἀρχόμενοι*) [23].

At the end of the ancient world and during the period of slow but definite transition from a Roman to a Byzantine state, the meaning and position of the *foederati*, as of many other ancient institutions, may have been altered to conform to the new governmental setting [23a].

Furthermore, the term φοιδεράτοι was in use during the troubled period of the influx of new elements and of ferment within the old; it was used for those autonomous ethnic groups settled on the periphery of the Empire, which pressed upon it from various sides, and occasionally entered into peaceful relations with it. The Emperors established friendly contacts with them and skilfully used their strength for their own purposes. The army of Justinian was composed of a mosaic of regiments of different nations which were jointly designated by the term *foederati* to distinguish them from the Empire's own forces, the regular army or στρατιῶται.

During the African expedition, the army operating against the Vandals consisted, according to a contemporary of, " ἔκ τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ φοιδεράτων ". The author goes on to clarify:

> Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political system, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality. For the Romans call treaties with their enemies " foedera ". But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, ... [24]

The author notes that time rarely preserves the significance of a name, for circumstances and meanings change continually while men carelessly go on using the same words. Procopius is evidently of the opinion that the term *foederatus* had outlived its original meaning, but the nature of the change remains unexplained. The historian apparently draws only on the etymology of the Latin term for his observation, and disregards the legal sense of *foederati*, or *civitates foederatae*, as small groups which had entered the Empire on the basis of an unequal alliance (*foedus non aequum*).

Concerning the settlement of Thrace by the Goths, the same historian says that

> ... with the emperor's permission, they settled in Thrace; and during part of this time they were fighting on the side of the Romans, receiving pay from the emperor every year just as the other soldiers did and being called " foederati "; for so the Romans at that time called them in the Latin tongue, meaning to shew, I suppose, that the Goths had not been defeated by them in war, but had come into peaceful relations with them on the basis of some treaty; ... [25].

Evidently the Goths rendered aid to the Empire without surrendering their independence. Such a relationship to the Empire entirely justifies the name of *foederatus* in the full sense of the word and indicates that its use in the period of Justinian is to be explained both by the survival of this term and the suitability of a concept which was not yet obsolete. The inaccurate use of the term objected to by Procopius does apparently occur in the particular case cited by him case and his criticism seems warranted. During the African campaign persons not of foreign background are mentioned as heads of *foederati*, although the *foederati* usually served under their own leaders. The actual composition of the *foederati* in the given case is not known. It is possible that the troop contingents themselves were foreign but that on this occasion they fought under Roman commanders. Dorotheus, the commander of the Armenian regiments under consideration, is listed among the nine leaders of the *foederati*, where he is given the first place [26]. Dorotheus' actual position was that of *magister* which Justinian had recently created in Armenia, and he fought as such against the Persians. He was then sent to Africa after the conclusion of the peace of 532 [26a]. As we shall see later, both native Armenian divisions and contingents from the imperial army were at the disposal of the *magister* of Armenia. The regiments transferred to Africa together with Dorotheus were evidently of the same mixed composition. If this practice was also followed in the case of other commanders of *foederati*, the blame addressed by the historian to those who assumed illegally the name of *foederati* becomes understandable.

The fact that Armenian regiments were included among the *foederati* is important in its own right regardless of the case under discussion, which may or may not be justifiable. If we study the meager evidence available on the administration of the *Satrapies* and of *Armenia Interior*, we can easily observe a basic similarity between them and the *foederati*. Procopius tells us that,

> ... in the other Armenia, which extends inside the Euphrates River as far as the city of Amida, five Armenian satraps held the power, and these offices were always hereditary and held for life. However, they received the symbols of office only from the Roman Emperor. It is worth while to describe these insignia, for they will never again be seen by man. There is a cloak made of wool, not such as is produced by sheep, but gathered from the sea. *Pinnos* the creature is called on which

> this wool grows. And the part where the purple should have been, that is, where the insertion of purple cloth is usually made, is overlaid with gold. The cloak was fastened by a golden brooch in the middle of which was a precious stone from which hung three sapphires by loose golden chains. There was a tunic of silk adorned in every part with decorations of gold which they are wont to call *plumia*. The boots were of red colour and reached to the knee, of the sort which only the Roman Emperor and the Persian King are permitted to wear.
>
> Roman soldiers, however, never fought under the orders of the king of the Armenians or of the satraps, but these rulers conducted their wars independently. But at a later time, during the reign of Zeno, some of the satraps decided to array themselves openly with Illus and Leontius, who had revolted against the Emperor. Consequently, when the Emperor had reduced Leontius and Illus to subjection, he left in the former status only one satrap who held a very inferior province which was not of any importance, in the region called Belabitinē; all the others he removed and no longer permitted them to transmit the office to those connected with them by kinship, but he ordained that on each occasion different men of the Emperor's choosing should succeed to these offices, just as is the rule in all the other offices of the Romans. Even so, these officials were not in command of Roman soldiers, but only of a few Armenians, as had been customary previously [27].

From the little information given here we know that the Satrapies were not, strictly speaking, conquered lands, but that the satraps were rather the allies of the Emperor, though not on a basis of equality. The fundamental traits characterizing them as well as *foederati* are complete autonomy without supervision from the Roman authorities, and military service rendered to the Empire. The Satrapies were miniature kingdoms ruled by their own princes, who were the equals in rank of kings. The insignia sent to them by the Emperor indicated royal power; the porphyra or purple cloak and the red boots were part of the regalia of the highest rank. Similar signs of distinction were conferred by the Emperor on the king of the Lazes, who received in addition to a white cloak, tunic and shoes, a diadem of Roman type and a belt covered with pearls [28]. The Armenian princes also wore a belt, but we do not know whether they received it from the Emperor. The same is true of the satrapal diadem.

The nature and origin of the power of the satraps are to be sought

in the complex of legal relationships, known under the general name of *naχarar* system, which flourished in Armenia, especially in the period of the Arsacids. The satraps were Armenian *naχarars* of the same type as their kinsmen who ruled in other parts of Armenia. From the point of view of native political theory, they were the vassals of either the Armenian or the Persian king, while at the same time, the nature of their political authority corresponded to that of *foederati* in Imperial law. The basis for their autonomy should not be connected with the incorporation of the Satrapies into the Empire; it is rather to be found in the politico-social system prevailing in Armenia [28a]. The absence of Imperial limitations on the freedom of the Satrapies is not the result of magnanimity, it merely reflects the restraints imposed on the Empire by the particular circumstances of its age-old struggle with the Persians for the control of Armenia. A consideration of the sympathies of the country, which might sway it toward one or the other party in the struggle and thus determine its outcome, was far from negligible. According to Armenian sources, the satraps broke of their own accord with the Armenian kingdom after the fall of king Aršak II, and gave themselves voluntarily to the Greek emperor [29]. We cannot fail to identify this voluntary transfer of allegiance as being in reality the treaty whereby the recognition of the Emperor's sovreignty by the Armenian satraps guaranteed their own existing rights and liberties. No outstanding political perspicacity was needed to solve the problem of the Satrapies in a manner favourable to the Empire. To receive the Satraps with a grant of autonomy was to gain in their person an advantageous support against the Persians. To refuse to receive them, or to attack their liberties, was to drive loyal allies to the side of the Persian king.

The treaty underlying the incorporation into the Empire of *Armenia Interior*, the neighbour of the Satrapies, is even more clearly visible from the history of the events. According to an account preserved by Procopius, the last Armenian king of the Arsacid dynasty had made before his death a will dividing his realm between his two sons Aršak and Tigran, the latter's share being four times larger than his brother's. Offended by such an injustice, Aršak turned to the Roman emperor Theodosius II for support and attempted to set aside his father's will. Tigran, in turn, sought the protection of the Persian king, fearing the vengeance of the Emperor. " Arsaces meanwhile still feared the hostility of the Persians and of his brother and resigned

his own kingship in favour of the emperor Theodosius, on certain conditions (ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τισίν)" [30]. The terms of these conditions are given by Procopius in another of his works. There they are put into the mouth of the Armenian princes displeased with Justinian's policy who came to the Persian court and stated, among other things, in their petition to king Xusrō I that,

> Arsaces, the last king of our ancestors, abdicated his throne willingly in favour of Theodosius, the Roman emperor, on condition that all who should belong to his family through all time should live unhampered in every respect, and in particular should in no case be subject to taxation [31].

The speakers asserted further that these conditions had been adhered to until the conclusion of the peace of 532 between the Persians and the Romans.

According to this account, the circumstances of the downfall of the Armenian Arsacids are presented in a very different light from that found in the Armenian sources which have reached us. It has been suggested that the tale transmitted by the Byzantine historian is not to be trusted. To be sure, doubts as to the names and individuals mentioned in the story are unquestionably possible, and it will still be necessary to determine the relative value of Procopius' Byzantine and Faustus' Armenian version. A recent investigator has even claimed that the entire story is pure invention and that this tale has been drawn by Procopius from highly dubious sources, most likely from the mouth of the Armenian princes themselves, whose national pride could not allow them to concede that the idea of the partition of Armenia had originated among the partitioning powers [32]. Even if we accept this opinion, for which there is no foundation the most valuable part of the story cannot be disregarded, and the opinion itself is groundless.

The evidence of Procopius on the last days of the Arsacids does not in fact contradict all that we know from other sources. According to the national version the valiant prince Manuel Mamikonean, regent for the powerless princelings Aršak and Vałaršak, wrote before his death "a letter to the Greek emperor and entrusted to him king Aršak and the land of Armenia" [33]. Furthermore the feuds of the princes Aršak and Tigran in Procopius are very reminiscent of the enmity between the kings Aršak and Xosrov in the *History* of Faustus. The crux of the matter does not lie in the manner in which the partition

of the Arsacid realm took place, whether it be according to the intentions of the interested parties or as a result of local disputes over the crown. The important fact is that after the partition, one part of Armenia adhered to the Empire on the express condition that the Arsacid forms should be preserved in the country, that is to say, it should remain free and be subject to no taxation. These are unquestionably the specific conditions under which the Armenians lived until Justinian. Let us even concede that Procopius' account is based on someone's invention, we still cannot deny that this invention must have reflected the actual state of the country since the historian is able to assert, by means of the Armenians' petition, that they had benefited from the above mentioned privileges up to his time. To enjoy this exeptional position in the Empire was, in Roman terminology, to be a federated territory. Consequently, Interior Armenia was a country as free as the autonomous Satrapies [33a].

One of the priviledges of the *foederati* was freedom from taxation [33b]. Reliable evidence as to the financial relations of the Armenian territories to the Empire is extremely scarce. There is an imperial decree from 387 addressed to Gaddana, satrap of Sophanenē, in which the tribute to the crown is demanded:

> The same Augustuses [Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius] to Gaddana, Satrap of Sofanena.
> We decree that the crown gold shall be returned and restored to those persons from whom it appears that it was illegally taken away, so that according to the practice of ancient custom, all satraps shall have the right to provide from their own resources for the customary offering of the crown to Our Serenity, in accordance with the devotion which they owe to the Roman Empire [33c].

The imperial decree was evidently the result of abuses against the Satrapies, countenanced by agents of the imperial power. A few years earlier, specifically in 384, a decree had been promulgated by the same emperors rigorously forbidding the forcible exaction of the *aurum coronarium* in the Empire in general [34]. Whether as a result of the separate status of the Satrapies, or for some other reason, this imperial decree had probably not been applied there, and a special rescript was needed to return the *aurum coronarium* collected in the Satrapies and to allow the satraps to operate in their own way. The tribute known as *aurum coronarium* differed from

other official taxes in that it was a voluntary tribute and not required by law. In one of the decrees of Julian for the year 362 it is flatly stated that " *aurum coronarium munus est voluntatis* " [35]. The term itself derives from the fact that originally gold crowns had been presented to the Emperor on the occasion of a victory or of some celebration. Such gifts were especially tendered by free communities and friendly nations bound to the Empire through confederation, who expressed their good will and friendschip in this manner. The Romans occasionally solicited " τῶν στεφάνων χρυσῶν " themselves as soon as they had overcome a foe [36]. A trustworthy source informs us that " That which the inhabitants of Rhodes paid to the Romans is called στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα since they were autonomous ". The negligible sum which they gave each year to the Romans was considered by them not as " a tribute to victors ", but rather as " a crown to friends " [37]. Voluntary obligations to the Empire of a similar type were also borne by the Saracen tribes of Mesopotamia. The leaders and princes of the Saracen tribes came before Julian the Apostate in Mesopotamia, during his campaign in the East, and showed their respect by the presentation of a gold crowns [38]. The tradition of the *coronae* was still alive in the sixth century. The Gothic king Theodatus made peace with Justinian on the condition, among others, that he would send the Emperor a gold crown of three hundred pounds' weight [39]. There can be no doubt that the *corona* of the satraps mentioned in the edict of Theodosius I cited above, belonged to this category of crowns. It was a spontaneous tribute from autonomous satraps to their sovereign. Although voluntary, and non-compulsory in character, the *corona* became a requirement, hallowed by time and custom, and served as an attractive symbol of the dependence of the satraps on the Empire.

Since we are led to believe that the presentation of the crown gold marked the whole of the financial obligations of non-equal allies, and since the autonomy of the satraps was maintained until Justinian, they should have been free of all other monetary obligations up to that time at least. There is, however, one piece of evidence which runs counter to this. During the Roman-Persian war of 502, the Persian king Kavadh advanced to besiege Martyropolis. The inhabitants of the city, realizing the hopelessness of resistence, decided to surrender. Together with Theodore, satrap of Sophanenē, they came out to meet the king " bearing in their hands the public taxes

of two years, (φόρους ... δημοσίους)" [40]. How is this passage to be understood? Theodore, one of the successors of Gaddana as satrap of Sophanenē, had his seat in the capital of Martyropolis. Although he was a vassal of the Emperor, Theodore surrendered to the Persians in order to save his lands from devastation, and to propitiate the king presented him with some kind of tax for two years in advance. Were these φόροι, taxes, destined for the imperial treasury? Perhaps this was the traditional *corona* in the form of currency, *i.e.* the *aurum coronarium.* Should this interpretation prove unacceptable and the φόροι δημοσίοι prove to be different from the *corona* of vassality, we will have to acknowledge that Zeno's alterations in the structure of the Satrapies had been very profound indeed. We have quoted earlier the actual passage in which Procopius says that the Emperor Zeno had abrogated the sovereign rights of the satraps in punishment for their participation in the rebellion of Leontius and Illus in 485, thereafter the satrapal power was transmitted to one or another individual at the discretion of the Emperor. Perhaps from this time on the satraps appointed by the Emperor were also liable to a new tribute called φόροι δημοσίοι. Legally this would imply the demotion of the Satrapies from the level of *foederati* to that of *civitates stipendiariae*; that is to say that they had been deprived of their *immunitas.* As yet this problem remains unsolved [40a].

Armenian taxes (τὰ ἀρμενιακὰ δημόσια) are mentioned in one of the edicts of Anastasius for the year 496 [40b]. We do not know whether they have anything in common with the φόροι δημοσίοι. Judging from its name, Anastasius' demand referred to the Armenians in general and probably to the other, *i.e.* to the non satrapal, parts of Imperial Armenia.

Interior Armenia, from the point of view of status, ressembled the position of stipendiary territories. She differed from the Satrapies in that a representative of the Imperial power had his seat there. After the division of Armenia, says Procopius, "the Roman Emperor always appointed a ruler for the Armenians, whomever he wished and whenever he wished. And they used to call this ruler even to my time the Count of Armenia (*Comes Armeniae*)" [41]. The Armenian sources likewise speak of this fact. According to them, after the death of the last king Aršak, the Greeks did not give him a successor but placed their possessions in the hands of counts [42].

With the abolition of the royal power, certain transformations occurred in the political life of Armenia. But this did not bring any particular changes in the framework of legal relationships existing within the country. Strictly speaking the transformation affected the interests of the reigning dynasty rather than those of the country. Once the power of the Arsacid kings had been set aside, the Emperors exercised great caution and avoided any measures which might injure the interest of the country or the national pride of the Armenians and drive them to the Persian side. They refrained from any attempt to interfere in the internal order of the country so that the social structure and the political institutions below the level of the crown remained untouched. The authority of the count was so defined that it was in harmony with the rights of the local feudal lords (*naχarars*) [42a].

Unfortunately, the nature of the count's office is not known to us in its entirety. All that we know authoritatively is that the Count of Armenia had no military forces at his disposal [43], hence he was a representative of the civilian authorities. From the local point of view the Count was the equivalent of the *Marzpan*, the highest civilian authority in Oriental or Persian Armenia, who shared the rule of the country with the *naχarars*. If we only knew the exact position of the Count in the Imperial hierarchy we might perhaps be able to outline his duties with greater precision. The Count of Armenia was obviously not included in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, since his office was created somewhat later than the composition of this famous document which took place in 410-413. However, other counts are to be found in it. In view of the obvious trend toward uniformity and symmetry in administrative institutions observable in the legal enactments of the Emperors, we are probably justified in comparing the Count of Armenia with one of the classes of counts found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Leaving aside the Occident and concentrating on the Orient, we find counts located in Egypt, Isauria and the diocese of Orient:

Comes limiti Ægypti
Comes per Isauriam
Comes Orientis [43a].

The first two are not comparable to the Count of Armenia since they exercised military authority, while the Count of Armenia discharged

only civilian duties. The Count of Isauria was simultaneously invested with plenary military and civilian powers, and therefore bore the title of "*Comes rei militaris per Isauriam et praeses*". In the hierarchy of military offices both the Isaurian Count and the Egyptian Count were assimilated to such dukes, such as the *dux Arabiae* and the *dux Mesopotamiae*, who were stationed along the frontier and were assigned the defense of the Empire from the perpetual threat of the Sasanians.

The *dux Armeniae*, in the north, belonged to the same category of officers, since he was entrusted with the duty of defending the frontier along with the other dukes.

The *Comes Orientis* differed radically from these counts. He was above all an official with civilian competence and corresponded in rank and duties to the vicars of the dioceses. He replaced the *vicarius praefecti Orientis* in the diocese of the East. As early as the period of Constantine the Great, special commissioners (*comites provinciarum*) had occasionally been sent to the provinces. The Count of the Orient, who alone survived from that period was descended from these commissioners; the type of his duties gradually assimilated him to an ordinary vicar, but he preserved the ancient title. The vicar was not a mere surrogate of the prefect. Since he was directly appointed by the Emperor, he occupied an independent position within the limits of his diocese and shared in the rights and plenary powers of the prefect. His duties consisted primarily in the supervision of the provincial governors (*praesides*), the collection of taxes, and in legal jurisdiction. The vicars had the right to render judgments *vice sacra* (in the name of the Emperor) and to communicate directly with him [44]. The *Comes Orientis*, just like the vicars, belonged to the rank of *spectabiles*.

From the nature of his office the *Comes Armeniae* belongs with the *Comes Orientis*, and thus with the vicars of dioceses [45]. Since Armenia was not reorganized along the lines of an Imperial province, there can of course be no question of absolute similarity, but insofar as it is possible and necessary to equate the *Comes Armeniae* with one or another of the official positions, his identification with the *Comes Orientis* should not be considered unsuitable. The *Comes Armeniae* may not be lowered to the level of a provincial governor (*praeses*), since the territory under his authority far exceded the dimensions of a province. To raise him to the rank of pretorian prefect is equally unwarranted from the reverse considerations. All that remains for

us is to admit the identification of the count's authority with that of a vicar. With regard to the *Comes Armeniae* the part of provincial *praesides* was played by those hereditary princes who possessed and ruled their districts or provinces on the basis of the *naχarar* system. In his relation to these princes, the *Comes*, as the representative of higher authority, was the equivalent of the [Persian] *Marzpan*, as we have already said [45a].

If we identify the *Comes Armeniae* with a vicar, the limits of his authority become clear. Of the three categories of duties assigned to the vicar, of which we spoke above, the most important, particularly with reference to the Count of Armenia, was his obligation to collect state taxes where they existed. This aspect of the matter is highly problematical. The edict of Anastasius relating to τὰ ἀρμενιακὰ δημόσια, cited above proclaims as follows:

> *To Anthemius Praetorian Prefect*:
> ... all revenues, and among them the so called Armenian ones must be paid [in thirds on three occasions, namely the Kalends of January, the Kalends of May and at the end of the indiction [46]. The revenue is to be divided in three equal parts and no deferment is granted to the payers in the interval of payments. In view of the fact that the Armenian payment [τελέσματα] was paid in two installments [καταβολαῖς] those who paid in this way, if they desire to choose their former custom; are permitted in the future to continue paying in two instalments, in halves, and to pay the second half in the September following the indiction. But if any wish to pay the Armenian tribute in thirds, to them is granted a delay of the month of September following the indiction. Upon the preservation of the former system, however, the payments are to be made customarily at the beginning of each indiction as is evident from the very name [46a].

The payments discussed here can hardly concern the province of Lesser Armenia, since this territory had long since been fused with the Empire and it is unlikely that any variation from the general system, even over the terms of payment would be tolerated there. The Imperial admonitions deal rather with Interior Armenia under the authority of the Count, and their inclusion in an edict addressed to the Pretorian prefect, merely demonstrates the subordination of the Count to the Prefect and reinforces our thesis on the hierarchical position of the *Comes Armeniae* as a kind of vicar.

At the beginning of the reign of Justinian a powerful movement against the Imperial power sprang up in *Armenia Interior* and the dissatisfaction of the country turned into open rebellion. The main cause of the disturbance, according to the words of a contemporary, was the oppressive taxation:

> Acacius ... secured the command over the Armenians by the gift of the emperor. ... and ordained that they should pay an unheard-of tax of four centenaria [47].
>
> Therefore, the emperor sent Sittas against them from Byzantium. ... So he came to Armenia ... and exerted himself to calm the people and to restore the population to their former habitations, promising to persuade the emperor to remit to them the payment of the new tax [48].

To the same period belongs the petition of the Armenian princes to the King of Persia containing their grievances against Justinian and the referrence to the treaty between Aršak and Theodosius II [48a]. How is the evidence of *ἀρμενιακὰ δημόσια* to be reconciled with the statement of the Armenian princes regarding their immunity from taxation up to the time of Justinian? Either the taxes mentioned in the edict of Anastasius applied to Lesser Armenia and not to Interior Armenia, or we have not understood the terms of the Arsacid treaty with sufficient precision. Who were the persons included in the designation "all who should belonged to his [Aršak's] family", and whose interests were protected by the treaty? [48b] Are those to be protected the entire Armenian population subject to Aršak, *i.e.* Armenia *in toto*, or the heirs of the Arsacids, in the strict sense of the word, or even those *naχarar* houses in general whose representatives had attempted to enter into marriage alliances with the Arsacids? It is possible that the position of the nobility had really deteriorated, and that the privileges of this hitherto free class had been limited. The indignant princes accuse Justinian of breaking the treaty by laying on them an imposition which had not existed before, "*φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν*" [49]. This tax was equal to four *centenaria* or four hundred pounds of gold. The Roman pound was somewhat smaller than ours; four hundred pounds of gold at a value of approximately 500 rubles would be equivalent to 200,000 rubles in our money [49a]. If this tribute was laid on the nobility (the *naχarars*), it must have been a land tax, but such an extremely high

rate of taxation is impossible for Interior Armenia which consisted of nine small districts and probably as many princely houses. For the same reason, four *centenaria* of gold cannot be interpreted as an additional tribute levied on the whole country above and beyond the legal taxes (τὰ ἀρμενιακά). Even if we suppose that these four *centenaria* represent the entire revenue drawn from Armenia by the government, we must still acknowledge that such an imposition was oppressive for the country. If the tax of four *centenaria* was really imposed by Akakios in the period of Justinian, then we must admit that the Armenians were indeed free from taxation before that time and that the account of the treaty is not a legend " called into being by the pride of the Armenian princes " as has been suggested by a certain scholar [49b].

Nothing is known of the other functions of the Count of Armenia. On the problem of jurisdiction in the country, the beginning of an early decree of Justinian, dating from 529 is interesting. In it the right of appeal to the Emperor is given, among other provinces and districts, to Armenia and to the Nations, *i.e.* to the Armenian provinces and to the Satrapies [50]. It is not clear whether the right was guaranteed to them *anterioribus legibus* or whether Justinian himself extended it to the Armenians. Since this decree antedates the reforms of Justinian in Armenia, it is probable that the situation had existed before him, and this decree demonstrates the dominion of the Emperor over an allied nation in the legal sphere.

The administrative authority of the Count must have expressed itself in his relations with the local *naχarar* powers, but we have no immediate information on this subject. In the absence of other Imperial institutions in the country, it is evident that the functions taken over by the governors (*praesides* or *archontes*) in other provinces were left here to the *naχarars*. Unfortunately, we also lack evidence on the division of the country among the native holders of power. Ancient documents have not preserved for us the names of the princely houses whose possessions lay in the western portion of Armenia. We know that the district of Sper belonged to the Bagratid princes [51]. There is evidence for believing that Karin became an Arsacid domain, at least from the time of the partition of Armenia. In the days of Manuēl Mamikonean, and under his guidance, the young kings Aršak and Vałaršak had consolidated their power in Karin [52]. Even earlier, when the same Mamikonean prince had risen against Varazdates,

one of the last Arsacid kings, their confrontation had taken place on a field near Karin, a circumstance which might be interpreted as an indication that Karin belonged to the Arsacids [53].

The Arsacid house was of course not suppressed, after its loss of the crown. The descendents of the former kings continued to enjoy the privileges of ruling princes on a par with the other princely families. So-called " men of the *Ostan* " or " *Ostanik* ", are often mentioned in the history of the fifth century rebellion; these are the " men of the court ", the former " king's men " [54]. They participated in the events of this period and are found in the camp of prince Vasak of Siwnik'. The *naχarar* cavalry served in separate contingents, each under the command of its prince, but although historians list by name the leaders of the princely clans participating in the revolt of the fifth century, they have not a single word to say about the commanders of the *ostanik'* regiments, except for one mention of a certain Zandałan, from an *Ostanik'* house [55]. The Armenian Atrormizd, whom the Persians appointed to replace Vasak, was also of Arsacid descent, judging from his surname, Aršakan, which is the Persian equivalent of the Armenian Aršakuni [56].

The obstinate and incomprehensible silence of Armenian authors concerning the descendents of the Arsacid kings is broken by the information of foreign writers who assert that the Arsacids continued to play an important part in the destiny of their country. The Armenian princes who led the Armenian revolt against the Byzantine authorities at the beginning of the reign of Justinian stressed before the Persian king that they were " descendants of Arsaces ", and Procopius also notes the names of the leaders of the revolt, John and " Artabanes son of John of the Arsacidae " [57]. Artabanes, together with his brother, moved to Byzantium where he was soon to become one of the leading figures in the Empire [57a]. The blessed Thomas the deacon, renowned for his ascetic life, who likewise lived in the time of Justinian, " was educated from his childhood in royal fashion and was issued from the house of the Arsacids, from a certain Barbar'i who was once the most powerful, great, and illustrious patrician in the East ", according to John of Ephesus [58]. Another Armenian ascetic also named Thomas, whose father was " *olim vir nobilissimus et regibus familiaribus* ", had a wife Maria, " *amplissima et clarissima gente Arsacuniorum natam, quae ut ajunt stirps regia nobilissima fuerat* " [59]. These examples remove all possible doubt that the Arsacid house

outlived its loss of the kingship at the beginning of the fifth century. Karin was undoubtedly numbered among the ancestral provinces of the Arsacid princes.

The names of the princely houses with possessions in other parts of Interior Armenia have not been preserved. In the documents which have reached us they are named according to the districts they ruled: the princes of Sper (or Bagratids), of Manałik‘, of Daranałik‘, of Ekełeaç, of Karin, also of Mardałik, of Xorjayn, of Derǰan and even of Kamaχ, after the famous city [60].

Daranalik‘ and Ekeleaç are usually given as possession of the Church. Faustus of Byzantium, the historian of the events of the fourth century says that in the days of the kat’olikos Nersēs I, the Church possessed vast estates consisting in fifteen districts, among these he listed Ayrarat, Tarōn, Bznunik’ and Sophenē in addition to the two already mentioned [61]. It seems to us that the words of the historian should not be taken to mean that these districts belonged to the Church in their entirety; this would not agree with the remainder of our evidence, but rather that Church, or more exactly religious estates, were scattered though them side by side with princely ones. We know that Ekełeaç formed the patrimony of the patriarchal house of Gregory the Illuminator, the Pahlawuni [62]. At the death of the kat’ołikos Sahak I (A.D. 439), his estate passed to his daughter, the wife of Hamazasp Mamikonean, in the absence of a male heir [63]. Hence, the Mamikonean apparently added Ekełeaç to the rest of their inheritance. Certain sources, which seem to indicate that a branch of the Mamikonean house distinct from the ones in Tarōn and Tayk’, also existed in Imperial Armenia, support this interpretation. According to the historian Ełišē, " a certain man, Vasak by name, from among those Mamikonean who are found in the service of the Greeks, (that is to say in the Imperial part of Armenia) ... was a collaborator of the other Vasak [of Siwnik‘] ", in the fifth century [64]. Furthermore, one of the active participants in the rising of 536 in Interior Armenia, the son-in-law of the Arsacid John, was named Vasak [Bassakos], and he is also the leader of the embassy of Armenian princes to King Xusrō I [65]. This " energetic man " must have been an offspring of the Mamikonean; his is a traditional Mamikonean name, and he exhibits the belligerent spirit so characteristic of this illustrious princely clan. From the sense of the speech made by the Armenian ambassador before Xusrō I, Vasak was one

of the princes who came from the part of Armenia subject to Justinian. Later he was reconciled with Justinian and moved to Byzantium together with the other rebels. If we admit the existence of a branch of the Mamikonean clan in Imperial Armenia, on the basis of this evidence, then in all likelihood we must seek it in Ekełeaç [66].

The status of the Armenian territories outlined here lasted until the period of Justinian when it underwent radical transformations.

VI

THE REFORM OF JUSTINIAN IN ARMENIA

The character of Justinian and of his reign — His imperialist policy — His reforming activity — The *military reorganization* of Armenia — The concentration of military powers in the hands of the *magister militum per Armenian* — The decree of Justinian creating the office of *magister militum per Armeniam* — The information of Malalas relevant to this event — Analysis of the decree — Date of the decree — The nature of the *magister's* power — His army and his *officium* — The dukes subordinated to him — The military occupation of the country — The system of defense, the fortresses of Justinian: Martyropolis, Kitharizōn, Artalesōn, Karin-Theodosipolis, Bizana-Leontopolis, Tzumina-Justinianopolis, Satala, Koloneia, Baiberdōn, Areōn, Lysiormon, Lytararizōn, Sebasteia, Nikopolis, Melitenē — The churches erected by Justinian — Fundamental aspects of the technique of fortification: the defenses of Theodosiopolis according to Procopius and in the Armenian tradition — Types of fortifications.

The accession of Justinian marks an era remarkable from many points of view in the history of the development of the Empire. Justinian belongs among those who come to the throne with a definite ideology and with a clear idea of the problems to be attacked. From the very first year of his reign he undertook a series of reforms which affected in various ways the life of the state. His reforming activity extended equally to the field of legislation and of judicial and administrative codification. Educated in the Roman tradition and nourishing an almost slavish admiration for the Roman past, he cherished hopes of recreating the fallen glories of the Empire, of the return of the ancient days of the Caesars and Augusti. In the eyes of the Emperor, the colossal structure of the Roman state had a firm foundation on the force of arms and on the law which assured its unity and might; they were the roots of Roman prosperity. Going still further, Justinian believed that they provided the strength on which any government should rest. In his own words, "*Summa rei publicae tuitio de stirpe duarum rerum, armorumque atque legum, veniens vimque suam exinde muniens felix Romanorum genus*" [1].

Basing himself on this interpretation, Justinian concerned himself

primarily with the military power of the Empire and with the improvement of its legal structure. A dedication to arms and law as the bases of the state leads inevitably to imperialism in foreign policy and to absolutism in internal affairs. Thus Justinian in his idealization of Roman antiquity was carried away by the unrealizable dream of bringing back the glory of the past. He was entirely filled with the illusion that he could revive the long dead Roman spirit, consequently he undertook on one hand extensive conquests, and on the other the centralization and consolidation of his power on the basis of Roman tradition. His long reign was passed in constant wars, now in the East, now in the West. Shifting the legions from one end of the Empire to the other, Justinian fought the Persians and conquered the small, semi-independent nations lying beyond the imperial frontiers: the Arabs of Mesopotamia, the Armenians, the Tzans and the Lazes. He defeated the forces of the new peoples surging into the lands of the Western Empire and conquered the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals and the Moors in Italy, Africa and even Spain.

The brilliant characteristics of Justinian and his imperialistic policies are shown by Procopius in two speeches which he puts into the mouths of the Gothic and Armenian ambassadors to King *X*usrō I of Persia:

> ... he [Justinian] is by nature a meddler and a lover of those things which in no way belong to him, and is not able to abide by the settled order of things, he has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state [2].

Equally bitter are the words of the Armenians. Having recalled the innumerable misfortunes Justinian had brought upon various nations, the Armenians exclaim with indignation,

> The whole earth is not large enough for the man; it is too small a thing for him to conquer all the world together. But he is even looking about the heavens and is searching the retreats beyond the ocean, wishing to gain for himself some other world [3].

The accuracy of this characterization taken from the pen of a contemporary who had thoroughly studied Justinian may be seen from the words of the emperor himself, as the dreaded conqueror proclaims,

> ... after so many expenses and wars, God has granted us the possibility of making peace with the Persians, of subjecting to ourselves the Vandals, the Alans, and the Moors, and of conquering all Africa and Sicily. We likewise cherish the greatest hopes that, with God's help, we shall succeed in extending our power over those other lands within the limits of the two oceans which were ruled by the ancient Romans and subsequently gradually slipped away through their negligence [4].

The Empire spent enormous efforts, both material and spiritual, on military undertakings of such grandiose conception, and as the Imperial frontiers spread, so grew and was realized the tendency toward centralization. The principle of the concentration of power was part of Justinian's concept, it was proclaimed often and quite unambiguously from his first decrees. Justinian was a born despot. This trait of his character is admirably displayed in the instructions promulgated by him for the review of former legislation and the working out and formulation of his famous *Code.* The principles of the sacred personality of the Emperor and of the divine origin of his power are proclaimed in them. The Emperor is the incarnation of law and justice; power is a gift received by him from above : "*imperium quod nobis a caelesti maiestate traditum est*". In which case, the Emperor continues, "what can be greater or more sacred than the imperial majesty ?" [5]. He is the exclusive source and instrument of the law. Not only the right of promulgating the law but the capacity for its interpretation is the unalienable prerogative of the highest power [6]. In all cases where doubts arise, or there is an obscurity in the meaning of the law, it is indispensable to turn to the ruler, and he, "*numine caelesti erecta emendabat et in competentem formam redigebat*" [7]. Indeed

> can a man be conceived so bold that he should dare refuse to recognize the imperial decision when the founders of ancient law openly and most clearly determined that all decisions which follow an imperial decree should have the power of law ? ...For to whom shall it be given to solve problems of law and who shall be capable of revealing them to all if not he to whom alone it is given to be the instrument of the law ? [8]

In Justinian's own proclamations cited above, the figure of the autocrat and absolute monarch is brought into relief. His natural

inclinations are raised to the level of principles, his practical aims given theoretical bases. These helped him establish his leadership in the creation of a vast yet centralized power within the Empire.

With this aim Justinian undertook a number of administrative reforms. As the reformer himself said, the direction in which all these changes should tend was, " *ut nostro moderamine recte gubernatur et firme custodiatur* " [9]. This is the motto which lay at the base of the provincial reforms of Justinian and which is likewise relevant to the reorganization of the Armenian lands.

The changes which Justinian initiated in Armenia are unquestionably inspired first of all by the over-all spirit of imperialism, and they served the interests of the unification and consolidation of the Empire. The concept of consolidating the parts of the Empire, at least in the one-sided understanding found in all autocrats, required the obliteration of the characteristics which distinguished the Armenian provinces from the rest of the Empire; it stressed the necessity of removing their individual aspects. It was imperative to transform them from semi-independent nations into an ordinary imperial province conforming to the general pattern.

In addition to the general reasons underlying the whole of Justinians reforming activity, particular motives, relating to the specific political circumstances, were present in each separate case. The immediate pretext for the military re-organization of Armenia was the Persian war. Justinian took up the reins of government at the height of the war begun under his predecessor. The imperial army had just suffered a defeat at the hand of the Armenian princes under Persian domination. The lack of success of Roman arms was attributed to the unsatisfactory defense of the frontier provinces. It was blamed on the forces of the *Dux Armeniae* and of the native princes who, as the war had demonstrated, were incapable of withstanding a concentrated Persian attack on the Imperial territory. Furthermore, the *naχarar* contingents of Interior Armenia and of the Satrapies did not come up to requirements of a rigorous discipline because of their heterogeneous composition and leadership. They would have found it difficult to operate in conjunction with the regular armies of the *Dux* [9a].

According to the historian Procopius, the Count of Armenia was unable to repel the invasion of the enemy, because he had no troops at his disposal. Justinian, therefore, having realized that such a disorganized Armenia could easily be captured by the Persians,

abolished the office of Count; placed a *strategos* in Armenia (στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἐπέστησε) and gave him a considerable number of troops, enough to repel enemy attacks. These were the measures taken by the Emperor in so-called Greater Armenia [10]. As for the autonomous Satrapies, we learn from the same historian that they were left to their own devices and dispensed with Roman help since they had their own troops drawn from among the Armenians The satraps, however, also admitted their helplessness in the face of enemy attack.

> And when this came to the knowledge of the emperor Justinian, he immediately did away with the title of Satrap and appointed in these provinces two Dukes, as they are called; and he put under them a very large force of regular Roman troops to assist them in guarding the Roman frontier [11].

The actual decree according to which these changes took place has fortunately been preserved:

> The Emperor Justinian to A. Zeta, *vir illustri* and master of the army for Armenia, Pontus Polemoniacus and the Nations:
> Having, through God's grace, received the Roman power, and having considered this matter with solicitous care and vigilant concern, we have found it necessary to create by the present law a special military commander for parts of Armenia, Pontus Polemoniacus and the Nations. We chose with complete confidence for a post of such responsibility thy highness which has so commended itself to us through its former activity. We entrust to thy care certain provinces, namely Greater Armenia, which is called Interior and the Nations (namely Anzetena, Ingilena, Asthianena, Sophena, Sophanena, in which lies Martyropolis, Balabitena) as well as First and Second Armenias and Pontus Polemoniacus, together with their Dukes. And the Count of Armenia is to be abolished altogether. We entrust [to thee] certain legions, not only those which are now being constituted, but also those chosen from the ones in the capital, those in the East, and certain other regiments. Furthermore, the number of soldiers in them shall not be diminished, for we have formerly added many to them without burdening the republic or raising expenditures. Now, however, we withdraw some of them, but in such a way that even after this subtraction more shall remain than there were before our blessed time [11a].

The chronicler John Malalas knew and made use of this law. He gives certain details which complete and clarify the official proclamation. We, therefore, give his account in full:

> In the abovementioned year of the reign of Justinian, Ztittas (Sittas) was sent to Armenia as *stratelates*. Before that time there was no *stratelates* in Armenia but there were dukes, governors and counts. The Emperor gave to him troops from two [sources], from the capital and from the East. Having assumed the office, he, with the sacred authorization, recruited for himself native *stratelate scriniae*, having obtained from the Emperor the right to admit natives to military service because of their familiarity with the localities in Armenia. The Emperor authorized this and transferred to him also the rights of the Armenian dukes, counts and their *hypatoi*, consisting formerly garrison soldiers. All former powers were abolished. But he received four regiments from the *stratelates* of the *East*. The frontier defenses of the Romans became mighty from that time, for he was a warlike man. He was the same man who married Comito the sister of the empress Theodora [12].

It is evident, both from the official document and from the historical account that, the crux of the military reorganization of the frontier consisted in the reunion of all the Armenian lands under the power of a single commander who was a general or master of the army [*magister militum*].

The office of *magister militum* was the highest military rank in the Empire. There were only five such *magistri* in the whole of the Empire: two in the capital, one in the East, and two in the West. The appointment of such an important official in Armenia testifies to the importance given to the eastern frontier of the Empire at that time. The actual decree of Justinian speaks of the subordination of the dukes to the new commander, while Malalas asserts that all previously existing authorities were to be abolished with the appointment of the new general. The information of the historian is incorrect and based on a misunderstanding. Several dukes and counts did not exist at the time when a military commander was appointed for Armenia; the historian has evidently confused the situation before the military reorganization with the one created by the civilian reorganization which followed the military one by a few years, specifically in 536.

The precise year in which the military commander was appointed is not known since the date of the decree is missing. Judging from

the opening words of this official document, " *cum Romanorum nobis sit delatum imperium* ", it was promulgated immediately upon or soon after the accession of Justinian [13]. By 530, at the time of the battle near Satala against the Persians, Dorotheus, a skilfull man experienced in military affairs was the *strategos* of Armenia, while Sittas, one of the Byzantine commanders in chief, was at the head of all the troops stationed in Armenia [14]. One of these two personnages occupied the position of military commander which Justinian had created. Although Dorotheus is called *strategos* of Armenia, the term by which Procopius renders the Latin title, *magister militum,* Sittas' name leaves no doubt that he was the one invested with the power of *magister.* The title, " *magister militum per Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum et gentes* ", was entirely appropriate for him as general in chief of the entire army. As for Dorotheus, he must have been the *Dux Armeniae.* At this time, Belisarius was *magister militum per Orientem.* In 531, Belisarius suffered a defeat near Kallinikos, and Justinian, displeased, recalled him to the capital, having relieved him of his functions as *magister* of the East; " but Sittas, as had been decreed by the Emperor Justinian, went to the East in order to guard that portion of the empire " [15]. And indeed, soon after, Sittas appeared at the head of a Roman army in the village of Attachas, to render assistance to Martyropolis, which was then besieged by the Persians [16]. It would seem therefore that Sittas had been transferred to replace Belisarius as commander of the East. Malalas also testifies that Justinian having heard of the defeat near Kallinikos, " wrote to Sittas, the *magister militiae praesentalis,* who was then staying in Armenia, and ordered him to journey to the East to participate in the war. Sittas occupied the territories of the Persians and, having crossed the Armenian mountains, came to Samosata " [17].

According to the same historian, a special official was assigned to the theatre of the war to make an investigation. As a result of his report, Justinian dismissed Belisarius from his military command and appointed Munda in his place as *stratelates* of the East (στρατηλάτην ἀνατολῆς) [18]. What happened to Sittas at this point is not altogether clear. Malalas also knows of his operations near Martyropolis [19], but according to his indications, the *stratelates* of the East was Dorotheus. In this capacity the latter took a certain fortress in Persarmenia [20] and repelled an attack of the Sabirian Huns [21]. The battle near Kallinikos took place in Holy Week, on Saturday

April 19th, which corresponds to the date of Easter for the year 531, and Sittas left Armenia after this battle. Whether he was appointed commander of the East, as Procopius asserts, or whether he returned to the capital because the post was given to Munda, as Malalas reports, does not affect our discussion. What is important and uncontrovertible is that Sittas remained in Armenian as magister until 19 April, 531. We also know that he was in Armenia the preceding year, 530, and fought with the Persians near Satala [21a]. As a result of all that has been said, it follows that the military reorganization of Armenia, which is associated with the appointment of Sittas as *magister militum per Armeniam*, must be placed in the period between the accession of Justinian in 527 and 530; the most likely date is 529.

In contradiction to Malalas, " all former powers " were not abolished in this reorganization. Only the office of Count of Armenia, and the autonomy of the Satrapies were abolished. Not only the *praesides*, or civilian governors of Armenia I and II, but also the *Dux Armeniae* remained untouched. In the place of the Count and the Satraps, three new Dukes were appointed and subordinated to the military commander or *magister*. The latter may be compared with present day governor generals by virtue of the scope and nature of his powers.

Considerable military forces and an *officium* were at the disposal of the *magister per Armeniam*. Unfortunately, precise information as to their composition is lacking. The information of Malalas as to the *scriniarii* is curious [21b]. The *scriniarii* or *officiales* served in one of the *officia* or in its departments, the *scriniae*. The *officium* of a *magister* consisted of his staff and chancery. The officials wore military dress, and their office was referred to as *militia*; nevertheless they were not considered to be part of the army. Originally, the officials apparently had also had military duties. Thus, in the *Notitia Dignitatum* it is said of the *officium* of the *magistri* of the capital and of Thrace (*magister militum praesentalis et mag. mil. per Thracias et Illyricum*) that " *in numeris militat et in officio deputatur* " [21c]. The *scriniarii* of the *magister* of Armenia were of the same type, since Sittas had specifically requested it. The passage from Malalas shows that Sittas' petition to the Emperor had included two requests: first, that he be given the power to form an *officium* from the natives, that is to say the Armenians; and second, that they, the *scriniarii* recruited by the magister, be allowed to " *militare* " (στρατεῦσαι). Sittas, the newly appointed commander, who had

previously been in Armenia and begun his military career there, clearly realized that without the co-operation of the local forces it would be difficult for him to carry out the responsible role assigned to him. It is even possible that he was no stranger to the East by descent. Sittas or Tzittas was apparently a nickname; the name of the general was Ursicius. Such is the name given to the important official and commander married to Comito, Justinian's sister-in-law and Theodora's sister, in an interesting document which has recently come to light [22]. We know from Malalas that this official, the brother-in-law of Theodora, must be identified with Sittas.

Sittas' legitimate request met with the highest approval, and the *scriniarii* recruited among the natives were perhaps included among the *numeros novos* mentioned in the Imperial decree. In addition to the *numeri novi*, the army of the commander of Armenia, also comprised " *segregati de praesentalibus, orientalibus et aliis agminibus* " [22a]; that is to say certain detachments taken from the legions under the command of the *magistri* of the capital and of the East (*magistri mil. praesentalis et per Orientem*) and transferred to the commander of Armenia. In the *Notitia dignitatum* regiments of Armenian archers (*sagittarii Armeni*) are listed among the troops stationed in the capital, while to following legions : *prima Armeniaca, seconda Armeniaca*, and the *Transtigritani* are found among the eastern contingents [22b]; these are perhaps the regiments of which the abovementioned *segregati* were composed in whole or in part. Malalas likewise asserts that the army of Sittas consisted of contingents drawn " ἐκ τῶν δύο πραισέντων καὶ ἀνατολῆς ", *i.e. praesentalibus et orientalibus*; and furthermore, as he says himself, four legions were drawn from the latter [23]. In place of the " *numeri novi et allia agmina* " of the decree, the historian refers to *scriniarii* and " τοὺς ὑπάτους(?) " who were " καστρισιανοὺς στρατιώτας " (*castrensiani milites*). These should perhaps be taken as being one and the same, and this might confirm the hypothesis that the *novi numeri* refer to the *scriniarii* and that the *allia agmina* are, therefore, to be identified with the *milites castrensiani* [24].

It is difficult to determine the size of the army of the *magister* of Armenia. We know that in 530 Sittas fought the Persians near Satala, with fifteen thousand soldiers at his disposal [25]. Somewhat later, at the time of the campaign of Dwin, the active army, composed of the forces of Valerianus, *magister* of Armenia, and Martinus, *magister* of the East, was reckoned as thirty thousand men [26]. It is, however,

dangerous to measure the Imperial forces in the East according to these figures; the two *magistri* cannot have disposed of an army numerically inferior to that of the *dux Armeniae*, for example, whose forces, according to the *Notitia dignitatum*, exceeded thirty thousand men [26a].

Theodosiopolis, in Inner Armenia, became the residence of the *magister* of Armenia. Before that, Melitenē, the capital of Lesser Armenia, had been the military center, since the Duke of Armenia had resided there [26b]. During the Roman-Persian war of the early sixth century, Eugenius, one of the Roman generals operating against the Persians in Mesopotamia, is even referred to as Duke of Melitenē [27], though he was in fact Duke of Armenia. With the reunion of the Armenian provinces to the Empire, the center of the military forces shifted to the frontier city of Theodosiopolis. Of the newly created dukes subordinate to the *magister*, one was stationed at Artalesōn, two in the Satrapal lands, at Kitharizōn and Martyropolis, and two in Pontus and Tzanika, at Horonōn, and Schamalinichōn or Tzanzakōn, of which we have already discussed the position [27a].

These sites had been chosen primarily for strategic purposes, consequently Justinian reinforced them with new defenses. It is well known that the building activity of Justinian is one of the amazing and admirable aspects of this activity, and struck the imagination of his contemporaries. It seemed to them that future generations would not believe that such enormous and innumerable buildings could be the work of one man [28]. The undertaking was indeed gigantic and knows no equal in history for scope. The vast Empire, and particularly its borders, was covered by an uninterrupted network of fortifications. The positions, with their fortifications and garrisons were chosen with the defense of the country in view, and, in general, the fortifications of the Emperor were closely connected with the system of defense. As we have seen from the topography of Lesser Armenia, the strategy of the Romans had formerly consisted of the occupation of the most important points on the main roads. This system no longer provided sufficient protection for the country in the period of Justinian. The Empire had spread so far, and was in such a disturbed condition, that enormous forces were needed to secure the defense of the vast expanse of the state. Justinian was forced to compensate for the lack of armed forces by an increase in the number of defensive positions and of secure fortifications, which

would solve the problem of national defense as well as that of attack. This was the policy followed on the eastern frontier of the Empire, namely in Armenia. The primary requirement was the strengthening of the border line. For this purpose, a series of fortresses was erected, stretching in a long chain along the frontier itself from Dara to Trapezos. This was the first line of defense, made up of the posts already mentioned, Martyropolis, Kitharizōn, Artalesōn, Theodosiopolis, Horonōn and Tzanzakōn, in which stood permanent garrisons under the command of the five dukes and the *magister*.

The main strategic points were Martyropolis and Theodosiopolis, and other smaller forts were built in the rear for their protection. Behind Martyropolis stood the fort of Pheison and the famous Kleisurai, the naturally inaccessible passes which Justinian surrounded with new fortifications and a garrison intended for the protection of both Martyropolis and Kitharizōn. The same function in relation to Theodosiopolis was fulfilled by the forts of Baïberdōn, Chartōn, Areōn, and Barchōn, disposed against attacks from the East and from the North. For the same reason, Sisilisōn, Bourgousnoes, and the so-called Longini Fossatum were built to protect the dukes of Tzanika [28a].

Behind the front line of defense ran a second one, with two main centers, Melitenē and Satala, which were positions as strong as Martyropolis and Theodosiopolis. The importance of these ancient cities even in the military sense was not decreased by the erection of the new defense line. Justinian prized their position highly and restored their ancient fortifications. He endowed Melitenē with such brilliance that the contemporaries called it the pride of Armenia. Satala was transformed into a fortress of the first rank, and the ancient localities scattered around them, the forts of Osroenē: Lythararizōn, Lysiormon, Germani Fossatum, as well as Bizana and Tzumina were also renovated. The building activity of Justinian also touched the ancient cities of Sebasteia, Nikopolis and Koloneia [28b].

Procopius dedicated a special work, the *de Aedificiis* in four books, one entirely devoted to Armenia, to Justinian's building activities; through it we are informed about the Emperor's constructions in Armenia. According to Procopius, the city of Martyropolis had been poorly defended from ancient times. Hence the Satrap Theodore had not even considered the possibility of resisting Kavadh I, in 502, and had surrendered unconditionally to the Persians. The

Emperor Anastasius, who was familiar with the situation, did not blame Theodore for his behaviour, but considered the step reasonable and praiseworthy. Taught by this experience, Anastasius surrounded the city with a wall four feet thick and twenty feet high, but the wall was still not strong enough to withstand assault and wall-piercing engines, and it was even possible to make one's way over it into the city.

> Therefore the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan: Outside the circuit of the wall he dug a trench, and laying foundations there he built a second wall with a thickness of four feet, leaving a space of four feet between the two walls; and he raised the new wall also to a height of twenty feet and made it in all respects equal to the first. Then, by throwing stones and mortar into the space between the two walls, he brought this work to perfection by forming one solid structure with a thickness of twelve feet. Above this he added, in about the same thickness, the same height which the earlier wall had had. He also constructed admirable outworks for the city and all the other things without exception on which the city's defense are based [28c].

In this way the thin and low walls of Martyropolis were altered by Justinian into major fortifications reaching twelve feet in thickness and forty feet in height.

We are already familiar with the positions of Pheisōn and the Kleisurai. Justinian "... by establishing admirable forts at Pheisōn and in the passes and posting in them invincible garrisons, has made this region altogether inaccessible to the barbarians." [28d]. In the village of Kitharizōn because of the absence of earlier fortifications,

> ... he established a fortress which had not existed before, a huge and extraordinarily impregnable stronghold situated in a hilly region. He also brought into it an abundant supply of water and made all other proper arrangements for the inhabitants, and he stationed there the second of the Dukes, as I have said, with a very numerous garrison of soldiers. And he thereby guaranteed the safety of the Armenian provinces.

Similarly,

> There was a town in the middle of this region named Artalesōn which he surrounded with a very strong wall and converted into an impregnable fortress; and he stationed there

> detachments of regular troops which by his order were always to be commanded by an officer whom the Romans, in the Latin tongue, call a *Dux* [28e].

Theodosiopolis, according to Procopius' account owed its foundation to Theodosius II, who " took over the dominion of Arsaces [the last Armenian king], ... he built on one of the hills a fort which was easy for assailants to capture, and he named it Theodosiopolis " [28f]. Karin, the Armenian name of the city, which is identical with the ancient name of the province, indicates that a village, if not a town, had existed on the site of the fortress of Theodosius from ancient times. Had the locality first become known to the Armenians as Theodosiopolis, a second, Armenian, name would hardly have been necessary. The emperor Theodosius is only entitled to the credit of having built a fortress where an Armenian village had formerly stood. Indeed, in another work, the same historian writes that the emperor Anastasius built a city on the frontier of Persarmenia, and adds, " now in this place there had been a village from old, but it had taken on the dignity of a city by the favour of the Emperor Theodosius even to the name, for it had come to be named after him " [28g].

The construction of Theodosius proved inadequate for military purposes, at least in the period of the wars with Kavadh I. Theodosiopolis, like Martyropolis, was unable to withstand a siege and was captured by the Persians. Procopius informs us that,

> The Roman Emperor Anastasius not much later built a city there, enclosing within the circuit-wall the hill on which stood the fortress of Theodosius. And he gave his own name to the city, yet he was quite unable to obliterate that of Theodosius, the earlier founder; for although familiar names are wont constantly to be changed by men for new, nevertheless the older names cannot easily be relinquished. This wall of Theodosiopolis was of adequate extent, but it did not rise to a height proportionate to its thickness. In fact it attained a height of only about thirty feet, and for this reason it had proved to be very easy for an enemy to capture by assault, particularly for the Persians. In other ways too it was vulnerable; for it was protected neither by outerworks nor by a moat. Indeed, there was actually a certain elevation which came very close to the city and overtopped the circuit-wall. Consequently the Emperor Justinian took the following measures to meet the situation. First of all he dug a very deep ditch all around, making it very like the ravines between lofty

mountains. Next he sliced off the elevated ground, so transforming it as to make a series of impassable cliffs and of gulches affording no outlet. And in order that the wall might be exceptionally high and altogether impregnable, in case anyone should attack it, he added all the details which he had incorporated in the fortifications of Daras. For he made the embrasures quite narrow, just wide enough for the defenders to be able to shoot from them, and by adding courses of stone he built thereon a storey like a gallery all around, he then cleverly added other embrasures above them; and surrounding the wall with outworks on all sides he made it much like the circuit-wall of Daras, fashioning each tower as a strong fortress. Here he stationed all the troops and the Generals of the two Armenias, and thus he made the Armenians thenceforth too strong to be afraid of the attacks of the Persians [28h].

The historian goes on to say that no fortifications were erected at Bizana. The reason for this was that,

> This town lies on level ground, and about it for a great distance stretch plains suitable for cavalry manoeuvres, and there are many pools of standing water there. Consequently it is not only very open to the enemy's attack, but most unhealthy for the inhabitants. For these reasons he passed over this town and in another situation built a city bearing the Emperor's name, a very noteworthy and altogether impregnable place, in the district called Tzumina, which is three miles removed from Bizana, situated on very precipitous ground and enjoying excellent air [28i].

Τὰ Βιζανά is the city called *Βάζανις* or *Λεοντόπολις* in Justinian's decree [28j]. Scholars have located it incorrectly as they identify it with either Theodosiopolis or Erzincan. In reality Bizana lay half way between these cities, and is the Armenian Vižan, a village which still stands on the banks of the Euphrates at the point were Akilisenē borders on Mananaṫi. It was renamed Leontopolis, probably in honour of the emperor Leo I (457-474), but we do not know on what occasion [28k]. We cannot tell how far the topographical conditions described by Procopius are accurate, but his description seems to be corroborated by the name of the place, Vižan, which means "flood" in Armenian [29].

Not far from Bizana, nearer to Erzincan in the foot hills of the Keşiş dağlari, stands the settlement of Cimin, incidentally renowned for its excellent wine; this is the historical Tzumina [30]. The Emperor

enlarged it, re-named it Justinianopolis, and made it the center of the civilian administration. This city was also the residence of the bishop of the province, who was known as the bishop of Justinianopolis or of Akilisenē, from the name of the province [31]. From antiquity these three localities, Theodosiopolis, Leontopolis, and Justinianopolis, have been confused with one another as a result of their closeness. An error has even crept into such official document as *Novella XXXI*, where Justinianopolis is given as the new name for Leontopolis. It should now be entirely clear, however, that Justinianopolis is to be identified with Cimin, Leontopolis with Vižan, and Theodosiopolis with Karin [Erzurum].

Justinian likewise restored the city of Satala,

> The city of Satala had been in a precarious state in ancient times. For it is situated not far from the land of the enemy and it also lies in a low-lying plain and is dominated by many hills which tower around it, and for this reason it stood in need of circuit-walls which would defy attack. Nevertheless, even though its surroundings were of such a nature as this, its defences were in a perilous condition, having been carelessly constructed with bad workmanship in the beginning, and with the long passage of time the masonry had everywhere collapsed. But the Emperor tore all this down and built there a new circuit-wall, so high that it seemed to overtop the hills around it, and of a thickness sufficient to ensure the safety of its towering mass. And he set up admirable outworks on all sides and so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. He also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osroenē [31a].

According to the description of Procopius, the city of Koloneia lay in the same district. First it had been a castle, which had existed from antiquity, at the top of a steep hill [32], then the Roman general Pompey who conquered this district captured the castle, fortified it, and called it Koloneia.

> This also the Emperor Justinian finding that it had suffered much through the ravages of so long a time, restored with all his resources. Furthermore, by granting great sums to the inhabitants of this region he brought it about that everywhere on their own land either new defenses were built or those which had fallen into decay were restored. Thus practically all the fortifications which can be found there are, as it happens, the work of the Emperor Justinian. In that region also he

> constructed the forts called Baiberdōn and Areōn. He likewise restored Lysiormum, which had already fallen into ruin, as well as Lytararizōn. And at the place which they call Germani Fossatum he built a new fort. Furthermore, he rebuilt the walls of Sebasteia and Nicopolis, cities of Armenia, for they were all on the point of collapsing, having suffered from the long passage of time, and he made them new [32a].

Melitenē, a very important center in Armenia and in Asia Minor in general, was at first a small fort serving as a post for the Roman army; it was built on level ground in the form of a square. From the time of the Emperor Trajan, Melitenē was a city and the capital of the district. When the population had grown to such a point that it could no longer be contained inside the fortifications, the inhabitants began to settle on the plain outside the walls. Here they built temples, houses for the magistrates, a square and a market. Streets were laid out, porticoes, baths, theatres, and all that pertains to a large and well planned city was erected. Thus suburban Melitenē arose in very ancient times. Anastasius intended to surround the city with a wall, but died before he had had time to carry out his plan. " But the Emperor Justinian built about it on all sides a very strong wall and made Melitenē a mighty stronghold for the Armenians and a thing of beauty " [32b].

Among the constructions of Justinian several churches are also mentioned.

> In Theodosiopolis he dedicated a church to the Mother of God, and he restored monasteries in the place called Petrios and in Coucarizōn. In Nicopolis he built the monastery named after the Forty-five Saints, and in Bizani a church to the martyr George. And close to Theodosiopolis he restored a monastery named after the Forty Martyrs [32c].

All the localities mentioned are well known with the exception of a few points. These are Areōn, Lysiormon and Petrios, which must be sought in the neighbourhood of Bayburt. Here too, stood Koukarizōn, in the vicinity of Derǰan and Karin, on the site of the present Kokaris [33]. Lytararizōn is unquestionably the Olotoedariza of the *Itinerarium Antonini* [34]. Germani Fossatum should be identified with one of the episcopal cities of the Metropolis of Trapezos in the ninth century, namely Keramon recognizable under the present name of Krom, a small village north of Gümüşane [35].

The description of the fortifications of Justinian given above has more than a topographical interest, it also acquaints us with the principles of the art of fortification at that time. In this connexion, the fortifications of Theodosiopolis and even those of Martyropolis are of particular interest. First, it is interesting to compare the data of Procopius with the Armenian material. According to the national tradition, the city of Theodosiopolis was founded by a certain Anatolius at the order of the emperor Theodosius,

> ...at the foot of a well situated mountain whence flowed a multitude of small clear springs. He surrounded it by a deep moat and in a ditch laid the foundations of the walls. On these he raised enormous and heavy towers of which he called the first Theodosia in honour of Theodosius. Further he built sharp ended towers like the prow of a ship and stretched passages with incurved recesses which faced the mountains. Similar towers were built facing the plain toward the North. On the Eastern and Western sides, however, he built round towers. In the center of the city on a raised spot were established a number of magazines and this place was called the Augusteon in honour of Augustus. He also led in other streams through many places by hidden channels. He filled the city with arms and troops and named it Theodosiopolis [36].

Extremely interesting information on the foundation of Theodosiopolis has been preserved in a tale which though legendary in character derives unquestionably from a well informed source. In opposition to the above account, this tale attributes the foundation of the city to two Armenian monks, Moses and David, who were among those sent to the Byzantine capital to translate the Holy Scriptures, and not to Anatolius. The Emperor Theodosius the Younger had entrusted to these two personnages, who were well known in Byzantium, the task of building a new city in Armenia. Having returned to their native land they undertook this task.

> They built a *X*osrovian tower, fearless against siege engines, and raised three walls on one foundation. It was ordered to dig out and carry away the earth for the space of three walls and to dig through to the center (*lit.* the navel) of the city. The a deep ditch was filled with enormous undressed blocks and lime [mortar ?], and on a single foundation three walls were erected. Inside, on the side of the city, two hundred steps going further and further down were set against the wall

> so that it might not be shaken by tunneling underneath. In the same way two hundred steps, one below the other, were set on the outside of the wall for safety from tunnels by the enemy. Other means were also invented in case the enemy should attack, besiege the city or close all the roads to the city. They made underground paths to the city, they succeeded in digging deep into the ground and in leading a tunnel to the plain, half a day's journey from the city to a place where there are stagnant waters which form a *šamb*, a swamp filled with reeds. In this way in case of a siege the city could obtain fodder for the cattle and reeds for fuel, and the enemy would know nothing about it. On the other side of the city they also laid a tunnel to the mountain called Aycu-ptkunkʻ, that is to say, Goat-teats, and filled it with large rocks. If cavalry were needed, it could be sent for and could ride into the city without the knowledge of the enemy.
>
> As for water, everything was excellently organized exactly as it should be. There is no one in the city, rich or poor, who may not make use of the water from underground conduits. The palaces and towers are magnificent and built of cut stone. The streets and squares, slaughter houses and markets are of impecable cleanliness. The churches amaze the beholder. The gates of the city are tall and broad, the walls are well kept, and the towers all *X*osrovian [37].

According to the description of Procopius, the Euphrates had its source forty-two stadia from Theodosiopolis on a not very high mountain.

> ... the Euphrates at its beginning flows for a short distance, and is then immediately lost to sight as it goes on; it does not, however, become subterranean, but a very strange thing happens. For the water is covered by a bog of great depth, extending about fifty stades in length and twenty in breadth; and reeds grow in this mud in great abbundance. But the earth there is of such hard sort that it seems to those who chance upon it to be nothing else than solid ground, so that both pedestrians and horsemen travel over it without fear. Nay more, even waggons pass over the place in great numbers every day, but they are wholly insufficient to shake the bog or to find a weak spot in it at any point. The natives burn the reeds every year, to prevent the roads being stopped up by them, and once, when an exceedingly violent wind struck the place, it came about that the fire reached the extremities of the roots, and the water appeared at a small opening; but in a short time the ground closed again,. and gave the spot the same appearance which it had had before. From there the river proceeds into the land called Celesene [38].

We have here the description of the reed swamps which the Armenians call *šamb*. Movsēs *X*orenaçi says of them that one of the branches of the Euphrates, not far from its source

> ... spreads into the likeness of a swampy lake and on its banks forms a *šamb*, and reeds grow in great number; the plains are famous for thick grass and the wealth of cereals [39].

This place is called in Turkish *saslyk* " the reeds ", and lies north of the city at approximately the distance indicated by Procopius, namely not more than ten kilometers [40].

On the opposite side, that is to the south, the city is protected by the Palandöken mountains, which are the ancient Goats' Teats. In the east, just above the city rise the heights of Top daği also known as Surb Nšan, (Holy Cross), from the name of the church. The citadel is on a hill on which is also found the arsenal. The Top daği rises in sight of the citadel and it is possible to direct artillery fire from it against the city and the arsenal [41]. Indeed, during the last Russo-Turkish war, Russian troops occupied " ... first two forts of Top-dag, Azizie and Medzhidzhe, which dominate the entire citadel " [42].

It is perfectly clear from all this that the high point which rose before the city and which was dug out by Justinian was in fact the present Top-daği. The well situated mountain at whose feet the city was spread according to Movsēs Xorenaçi, was not Top-daği but the Goats' Teats. This can be deduced from that fact that the Armenian historian says that the round towers of the city walls faced east and west, while the towers like ships' prows faced north and toward the mountains, which clearly means to the south. According to a late author who was a native of Theodosiopolis, the city was situated on a height, and like a royal throne lay at the foot of the high mountain Šołalar and Gohanam, looking out toward a beautiful circular plain in the direction of the village of Kân [43]. Kân or Kian lies north of the city, while both Šołalar and Gohanam are actually one and the same mountain south of the city between the Deveboynu and the Palandöken range [44]. It is considered to be the highest peak of the region, and from its summit both the Ararat and the Black Sea are visible.

These descriptions of the fortifications are not in complete agreement. According to Procopius, the fortifications of Theodosiopolis consisted of a three fold defense: a very deep ditch (ἡ τάφρος βαθύτατος), the

outworks or fore-walls (προτείχισμα), and the main crenellated wall (περίβολος or τεῖχος), composed of two storeys separated from each other by a passage similar to a covered gallery with towers. Movsēs Xorenaçi knows only a ditch and a wall with towers, and his ditch does not seem to have had a separate function, but merely served to deepen the foundation of the walls. This is also the version found in the *Legend* [45]. The author of the *Legend* unquestionably had a good source at his disposal, but he is also probably to blame for certain absurdities in the description resulting from an incorrect understanding of his source. The digging out of the earth in the space between the walls mentioned by the author of the *Legend* is reminiscent of the work done by Justinian on the walls of Martyropolis [45a]. The three walls built on a single foundation correspond to the outworks and the two-storey wall. According to the evidence of the anonymous *Legend*, the city walls had the appearance, within and without, of a grandiose staircase with two hundred steps. Such a structure, regardless of the function assigned to it, is unsuitable from the very fact that besiegers could have climbed up the wall by means of the stairs. This information must be considered as altogether doubtful. Obviously, either the original source described separate stairs added to the wall, or we have here an exaggerated description of the two-storey wall of the city. The account of the underground approaches, unless confirmed by excavations on the site, may also be taken as an exaggeration of the fact that the city had four gates, from one of which it was possible to ride north to the *šamb*, and from the others south to the Goats' Teats.

The description of both Movsēs *X*orenaçi and the *Legend* refer to the reconstruction of Theodosiopolis by Justinian; and the city walls were destroyed and rebuilt several times thereafter [46], Nevertheless, certain ancient traits are still visible when compared with the modern city. Modern Erzurum consists of three parts: the citadel, the city, and the suburbs, in other words the citadel, the fortress, and the city. The city with the citadel is situated on a height and is separated from the suburban sections by a double wall and a ditch with an embankment. The height of the walls is 24 to 30 feet and the thickness up to 5 feet; there are 62 towers in them; the circumference of the city is one half hour's walk. The citadel, Ic-kala in Turkish, Miǰaberd in Armenian, occupies the highest point in the western corner of the city and is surrounded by a high wall to the east. It is

shaped like a rectangle 180 steps long and 80 steps wide. Inside it is an empty space with one tall tower and a few buildings [47]. As for the suburban part, it lies outside the fortress walls and consists of four parts or *maala*. In the east, the remains of ancient walls some 6 feet thick adjoin it, and in front of them there are traces of an embankment [48].

Where do the boundaries of Justinianic Theodosiopolis end? We have seen that Justinian built a temple dedicated to the Mother of God in Theodosiopolis (" *ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Θεοδοσιουπόλει νεὼν τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε* ") [48a]. To this day the main church of the city bears the name of the Mother of God, and the Armenian *Legend* attributes its foundation to David and Moses, that is to say to the men who were entrusted with the building of the city. This circumstance clearly points to an intrinsic relationship between the present church and the temple of Justinian. We believe that the monastery of the Forty Martyrs built near the city by Justinian may have been connected with the present spring, Kərh-cesma " the 40 springs " in Erzurum and to the Kərh-deirman, " the 40 mills ", outside the city because of its name. In Nikopolis the same Emperor built a monastery dedicated to the Forty-five Martyrs. Should we believe Procopius that the monastery in Theodosiopolis was under the vocable of the Forty Martyrs, or is another origin to be sought for the name? In 1653 the Church of the Mother of God had up to fifteen priests and ten deacons; among the former was the Yakovb of Karin, referred to earlier, who has left us a description of his native province. Since the church of the Mother of God is now found in one of the suburban sections outside the fortress, we must suppose that the ancient walls of Justinian were those which enclosed the suburban districts and whose remains have survived to the present day. One of the travellers who visited Erzurum in the 1840's believed that the suburban walls were older than those of the fortress [48b]. The position of the church of the Mother of God solves the problem of the outer circumference of Justinianic Theodosiopolis, since there are no grounds for thinking that Justinian built this church outside the city he had fortified.

Justinian merely raised and reinforced walls which had existed previously; they actually dated from the period of his predecessor Anastasius. This Emperor had " built a city there, enclosing within the circuit-wall the hill on which stood the fortress of Theodosius " [84c]. The walls of the present fortress in all likelihood indicate the boundaries

of the castle of Theodosius. That is not to say, of course, that the walls themselves are of such ancient origin. According to Movsēs *X*orenaçi one of the towers was called Theodosia or rather Theodosian [49] the one intended is clearly the tall tower standing isolated on the citadel. It is also the one called "*X*osrovian" in the *Legend* [50]. The account of Movsēs *X*orenaçi may perhaps reflect a historical fact, namely that Theodosius was responsible for the establishment of no more than the citadel and the tower. If this is the case, the walls of Anastasius, and, therefore, of Justinian coincided with the line now followed by the double walls of the fortress. This hypothesis is acceptable if we also admit that the Church of the Mother of God had originally stood within the fortress and was subsequently transported to the suburbs under the Muslim domination [51]. The problem can be solved only through an archaeological investigation of the site.

In connexion with the actual technique of fortification, it is important to note the means of defense, which consist of three devices; the fundamental wall (*τεῖχος* or *περίβολος*,), the outworks (*προτείχισμα*) and the moat (*τάφρος*) [52]. The fundamental as well as the outer walls were protected by a whole series of towers which served as bases for repelling enemy attacks; the walls ended in crenellations. When it was found desirable to raise the wall, the crenellations were filled in with stones to form a gallery, and above this the wall was raised higher to end once more in crenellations. The gallery went all around the wall, and produced a kind of two-storied wall [53]. The defense was carried on from the galleries at the top of the walls and towers. The walls of Dara and Theodosiopolis, the two most important strategic points on the frontier of the Empire, were constructed in this way. It would be a mistake to think that this system of fortifications was imported into the East by Justinian, it was undoubtedly the product of local tradition. It is possible that the common Armenian terms, *parisp*, *patovar*, *χandak* or *p'os*, are intended to render three forms of fortifications corresponding to the Greek *τεῖχος*, *προτείχισμα* and *τάφρος*.

Not every fortification was provided with all of these devices. The outer, additional walls were usually put up in large fortresses in order to give to the neighbouring defenceless population a refuge in time of attack. Procopius says of Dara that it was surrounded by two walls, of which the inner was incomparably higher than the outer; the height of the former reached 60 feet, and the towers were as high

as 100 feet. The space between the two walls was reckoned as no less than 50 feet: " in that place the citizens of Daras are accustomed to put their cattle and other animals when an enemy assails them " [54]. Several types of fortified centers were distinguished according to their strength: great fortified cities (πόλεις - *civitates*), important fortresses (φρουρία - *castella*), unimportant redoubts (*byrgi*), camps surrounded by a moat (*castra*), and walls closing a pass (*kleisurai*) [55]. As we have seen, all of these types were to be found in Armenia.

VII

THE CIVILIAN REORGANIZATION OF ARMENIA

The administrative reasons for the reorganization of Armenia and their connexion with the general reform of the provincial administration — The decay of the administrative machinery and its causes according to Justinian — *Suffragium* and its suppression, administrative reform along the lines of provincial consolidation — The legal reform — The *Novella* creating four governors in Armenia — Analysis of the *Novella* — The new divisions: Armenia I, II, III, and IV, from the point of view of territory — Attempted changes before the promulgation of the *Novella* — The personalities of Akakios and Thomas and their role in the reforms — Problems met by Justinian in Armenia — *Sacra commonitoria* and *Novellae* concerning the system of inheritance found in Armenia — Analysis of these *Novellae* — Meaning of the absence of women's rights treated in these *Novellae* — The problem of marriage and dowry in Imperial legislation: *φέρνη* and *δωρεά*, or *dos* and *donatio*, *varjank'* and *awjit* among the Armenians, Armenian *p̄royg* and *towayr* as literary borrowings from the Greek *προῖξ* and *δωρεά* — Contemporary transformation of ancient marriage customs — The non-inheritance of women in family estates — Inheritance *ab intestato* in Armenia — Presence of both customs in European feudalism — Real sense of the *Novella* — The destruction of the *naχarar* system, one of Justinian's chief intentions — Fiscal interests, the immediate motive for the reform both in general and in Armenia.

Justinian's transformation of the civilian administration in Armenia had a much more fundamental effect on the country that the military reorganization, because it altered its ancient pattern of life. This reform took place in 536 as the result of a special *Novella*. The ultimate goal of this change was undoubtedly the destruction of the peculiar socio-political structure of the country and its Romanization. A Romanized Armenia seemed a more reliable base against the continuous attacks from the East. Justinian never disguised his desire that "the Armenians should follow Roman laws in all ways" and that "Armenia should in no way be differentiated from the Empire" [a]. Despite the clearly assimilating intentions of the Imperial reformer, his plan for the reorganization of the Armenian territories does not seem to have been conceived at first as an exceptional measure directed against the Armenians; it began naturally as part of his general reform of the administration.

The internal policies of the Emperor were as admirable as the external ones. When Justinian came to the throne, the Empire was passing through a very difficult period. Thanks to the negligence of his immediate predecessors, the internal organization of the state had sunk to a level altogether unsuitable to the pride of a mighty realm, and it showed signs of disintegration: venal administration, absence of justice, decline in the ability of the people to pay taxes, impoverishment of the country in the face of overwhelming danger, unsound finance; all these contributed to the dismal picture presented by the political life of the country. All governmental institutions were in need of renovation; decisive measures were required to save the state from disaster. The population oppressed and exploited in every way, was driven to despair, discontent grew, and disorder spread throughout the Empire. Popular movements, sedition, and the increase of open rebellion threatened the Empire with inevitable dissolution. An imperative need for transformation and renewal of the administration was manifest. This was undertaken by Justinian some eight years after his accession to the throne.

In the year 535, on April 15, Justinian promulgated an admirable, and for its type an unusual *Novella*, in which he exposed with unwonted candour the decadence of officialdom, and the depravity of its morals, and uncovered the festering sores of the bureaucracy in all their horror [1]. Among all officials extortion and all the sins derived from cupidity were highly developed, "The love of gain is the mother of all evils (*τὴν φιλαργυρίαν πάντων εἶναι μητέρα τῶν κακῶν*)" proclaims the Emperor in his *Novella*. All officials were infected with this love of gain however, not because of a general moral decay, but as a result of the system for filling offices known as *suffragium*. Vacant posts were openly offered practically for public sale. The grant of an office was customarily accompanied by the payment of a given sum known as *suffragium* or *δόσις*. Naturally, the offices went to those who offered the largest sum. The Emperors who preceded Justinian had not condemned this practice, and their example was followed by men of other ranks, each of whom fleeced his subordinates [2]. The whole weight eventually fell on the people who were forced to pay various illegal but compulsory exactions above and beyond the legal taxes.

An official having obtained his position for money, expected not only to recover the *suffragium* he had paid, but to make a profit as

well once he received his post. His salary being insufficient for such a purpose, he had recourse to forcible and illegal means of obtaining revenue. Often, not having the means of paying the *suffragium*, he had to borrow at a high rate of interest and on many occasions he would set out for his post accompanied by his creditors. These abnormal conditions pushed men into illegality and manifested themselves in bribery, extortion, favouritism, coercion and injustice; hence, they had a corrupting influence on morals, since they undermined authority and cut the country's sense of honesty and legality at its very root.

> Who, then shall not steal with impunity, " exclaims the author of the *Novella* ", who will not rob irresponsibly, when he looks to those in power, sees everything traded by them for money, and is assured that whatever crime he commits can be remitted with a payment! From this come murder and adultery, assault and plunder, the rape of women, seditious gatherings, and contempt of law and authority, since all are of the opinion that power is up for sale like a wretched slave [3].

All levels of society suffered equally from this arbitrariness and lack of leadership. Persecuted by the authorities, " clergy, magistrates, landowners, town and country people ", all fled to the capital to complain of their fate and of the plundering and abuses they had suffered at the hand of officials. The general discontent occasionally exploded in riots erupting now here, now there, in the towns and in the countryside.

The Imperial treasury suffered no less from the disorder. The population hit in its material well-being, fell into such poverty that it paid with the greatest difficulty " ordinary taxes provided by law ". The irregularity of these payments disturbed Justinian above all. As the Emperor states himself, the imperialist policies involving him in wars both in the East and the West, required and consumed vast sums of money, and the regular return of state revenues was a matter of the first importance. Justinian returns repeatedly to this problem in his *Novella*, stressing its enormous importance. Concern over finances provided one of the main stimuli for the reform.

First, it was indispensable to root out the demoralizing system of selling offices, the fount of all evil. The Emperor realized that order could be re-established only

> if those persons who stand at the heads of provinces keep their hands clean, and forswear bribes of any kind, remaining satisfied with their bare salaries paid by the state. But this cannot be achieved otherwise than by having them obtain their offices freely, without *suffragium* or other expenses [4].

Justinian consequently abolished the *suffragium* and re-established the ancient custom whereby a newly appointed governor was required only to pay a sum to the bureaus concerned with his appointment, in return, so to speak, for the work of preparing and forwarding the necessary papers. This sum was rigorously set for each governor. With the exception of a few provinces which were considered *spectabiles*, all were divided in to consular provinces, *consulares*, and praesidal ones, *correctoriales*; of these the former paid more than the latter. We learn from the list appended to *Novella VIII*, that the governors of Armenia II, Greater Armenia and Helenopontus paid according to the first category, while the one from Armenia I paid according to the second [5]. A *Novella de mandatis principium* was promulgated at the same time as *Novella VIII* [5a]. In this edict the entire range of duties of a provincial governor is described in detail, together with severe injunctions to abide by the orders given.

Among the measures taken by Justinian likewise with the aim of regularizing provincial life, we should take special note of the changes in administrative divisions. *Novella VIII* abolished the vicariates of Pontica and Asiana. In this period the vicar of Asiana was simultaneously *praeses* of Phrygia Pakatiana; Justinian left him only the government of Phrygia with the title of Count, having abolished his authority over the other provinces of the diocese. He acted in the same way with regard to the vicar of Pontica; to him the Emperor entrusted only Galatia with re-united military and civilian authority. The *comes Orientis*, who was the equal of a vicar, had his authority limited in the same manner though with the retention of his title. It was furthermore forbidden to either military or civilian officials to maintain substitutes (*τοποτηρητάς*) in the provinces under their authority [6]. These measures were directed against the strictly hierarchical system which had proved such a favourable ground for abuses: the prefects bought their office from the Emperor, the vicars from the prefects, the provincial governors from the vicars; finally the governors appointed substitutes for themselves, and in turn required payment for the position granted. With the abolition of the

vicariate, one of the steps in the hierarchical ladder was removed, and the provincial governors came into direct contact with the prefects. Justinian went on to extend the powers of provincial governors, raised them to the rank of *spectabiles*, and thus allowed them a certain independence from the prefects, this too being to the detriment of the hierarchical system.

Filled with Roman spirit, Justinian attempted in many ways to imitate antiquity. He believed that ancient Rome was in part indebted to its provincial organization for its greatness. In his opinion, Rome would never have grown from a small state to a world power had she not inculcated respect for herself by appointing high-ranking governors in the provinces and by surrounding them with magnificence through a grant of full military and civilian power [7]. The natural consequence of such a view was an opposition to the principle, in effect since the period of Diocletian, whereby the Empire was gradually subdivided into increasingly smaller units, while military and civilian authority was separated. Justinian began to reverse this process by means of a concentration of lands and powers.

In 535 and 536, *Novella VIII* was followed by a series of *Novellae* intended for the re-organization of the provinces. Paphlagonia, which had been divided without reason, according to Justinian, in to Paphlagonia and Honoriada, was again restored to its former size under the authority of a *praetor* with the rank of *spectabilis* [8]. The two Cappadocias were re-united and entrusted to a single *proconsul* also with the rank of *spectabilis* [9]. Pontus Polemoniacus and Helenopontus were joined together into a single province under the name of Helenopontus; its governor was called *moderator*, and received once again the same rank [10]. The provinces of other dioceses underwent similar transformations [11]. At this same time, and amidst the general reform, a *Novella* for the re-organization of the Armenian territories was likewise promulgated.

In his provincial re-organization, Justinian was guided not only by administrative considerations, but also by the interests of justice. In order to understand his reforms both in general and in Armenia, it is indispensable to begin with some acquaintance with his general scheme for the administration of justice.

In the Roman Empire, justice was not assigned to a separate branch; the administrators supervised legal procedure along with their other duties. Every governor, regardless of his title or rank, was also a

judex. Three legal levels corresponding to the three ranks of governors, were distinguished: *ordinarius or clarissumus*, *spectabilis*, and *illustris* (*judices ordinarii*, *spectabiles*, *illustres*) [12]. At the very top was the court of the Emperor, as the supreme guardian of justice. Below the *judex ordinarius* stood the municipal magistrates, but their jurisdiction was extremely limited, and it can be said that legal cases were generally tried in the first instance before the *judex ordinarius*. To him also went appeals against the verdicts of the same magistrates, and from him these appeals went on to the *judex spectabilis*, that is to say the vicar. The praetorian prefects judged without the possibility of further appeal. The verdicts of vicars, on the other hand, were subject to review, and appeals from them were made not to the court of the prefect, as we should expect, but directly to the Emperor as *sacro judici*.

Such was the system before Justinian. In his time legal relations underwent certain changes in the order of precedence. From the second half of the fourth century, a special official known as the ἔκδικος or *defensor civitatis* had existed as opposed to the magistrates. His function was to defend the interests of the poor against the magistrates who were the instruments of the wealthy classes. Gradually, however, the *defensores* had lost their importance and had fallen so low in the eyes of the people that, in the words of Justinian, the name *defensor* in his time was rather a term of opprobrium than a title [13]. The Emperor rehabilitated the title and position of the *defensores*; whereas before they could judge suits involving no more than 50 *solidi* [14], now that limit was raised to 300 *solidi* [15], though suits and claims of more than 300 *solidi* were still under the jurisdiction of the provincial governors.

As a result of the provincial reform of Justinian, the governors with rare exceptions came from the rank of *spectabiles*, and thus became *judices spectabiles*. Six new *spectabiles* provinces were created out of the eleven former provinces which had formed the diocese in conjunction with the Armenian territories. The *judices ordinarii* and their substitutes the *defensores* were in effect abolished thereby. According to the legislation of Justinian, the *judices spectabiles* had final jurisdiction over all cases up to a sum of 500 *solidi*. If however, the matter exceeded this figure, the case was subject to appeal in the court of the *praetor* or of the *quaestor*. The *Novella* dealing with this matter is lost, but we know of it from frequent references in

subsequent legislation, among others from the *Novella* on the re-organization of the Armenian territories [16].

From a knowledge of the general intentions underlying the reforms of Justinian we come to an understanding of the re-organization effected by him in Armenia. We give the entire text of *Novella XXXI*: *On the Creation of Four Governors in Armenia,* both in the original and in translation [16a].

Concerning the Establishment of Four Governors for Armenia:
The Emperor in person to Johannes the most honoured Eparch of sacred matters for the East, second among the *hypatoi* and patrician:

Prologue

Everything neglected and disordered, if it be brought into fitting order and well arranged, takes on a completely different appearance from what it was before: from bad it becomes excellent, from ugly — beautiful, from disorganized and confused — orderly and clear. Having found such a defect also in the land of the Armenians, we have thought it necessary to re-organize it according to a single pattern, to give it disciplined strength through good regulations, and to establish a fitting and suitable order.

Chapter I

By the present decree we have decided to create four Armenias: The Inner one, whose metropolis is already adorned with our blessed name and formerly was called Bazanis or Leontopolis. To it we grant the rank of a proconsular province and appoint the most magnificent Akakios as its governor. We proclaim this office *spectabilis*, alloting to it all that is customary for a proconsulate. We adorn him with the garments of a proconsul and permit him all the privileges designated for this rank. We assign to this province the cities of Theodosiopolis, which belonged to it formerly, Satala, Nikopolis, Koloneia, which have been taken from the former Armenia I; also Trapezos, and Kerasos, from the former composition of Pontus Polemoniacus. Having taken some of these from the province of a *clarissimus* governor, and others from a *spectabilis moderator*, we establish a full province of seven cities with their surrounding territories.

1. Second Armenia is created from the former Armenia I with Sebasteia as capital. We assign to it Sebastopolis, which belonged to it formerly, also Komana, from the former Pontus Polemoniacus, Zela, from Helenopontus, and also Brisa. Thus, this province consists of five cities. As for the authority existing there, namely that of a *praeses*, we retain it and its governor is not granted a higher rank, but that which he formerly had is retained to him.

2. We furthermore establish a Third Armenia, which was formerly called Armenia II. Its capital is the ancient city of Melitenē, a distinguished city, with an excellent situation and air, standing not far from the course of the Euphrates. It seemed to us necessary to strengthen this Armenia at the present time and to re-organize it after the fashion of *spectabiles* provinces. We bestow upon its governor the title of Justinianic Count, and grant him a revenue of 700 *solidi*, to his assistant 72 *solidi*, and to his office 60 *solidi*; we assign to him all that is appropriate for such a position. The so called *taxeotai* will continue their former duties an particularly to supervise the collection of taxes. Only their name is altered to *comitiani*, everything else is maintained as it was for the *taxeotai*. To [this province] are assigned the cities of Arka, Arabissos, the other Komana (otherwise known as Golden Komana) and Koukousos, all of which it formerly included since it was composed of six cities.

3. We also establish a Fourth Armenia which up to now did not have a provincial organization. Because it was inhabited by various peoples it bore diverse names foreign to us: Tzophanenē and Anzetenē, Tzophenē and Asthianenē and Belabitenē, and it was under the authority of Satraps. This title is not derived from the Romans or from our predecessors, but was introduced by another power. Into this same country we bring our civilian organization, appointing a civilian governor there and giving to it the city of Martyropolis and the fortress of Kitharizōn. To it is assigned the rank of an ordinary province since we have made it consular. Thus there are four Armenias of which two are *spectabiles* and governed one by a proconsul and the other by a count, the proconsul being the governor of Armenia I and the count of Armenia III. As for the governors of Armenia II and IV, they are considered to be *ordinarii*. We have already taken careful measures so that appeals up to a sum of 500 *nomismata* shall not be sent to our blessed city, but rather to the nearest *spectabilis* authority. Therefore, we decree that appeals from Armenia II shall go to the governor of Armenia I, that is to Sebasteia and that the ones from Armenia IV go to the count of Armenia III who is in Melitenē, and this up to the sum indicated.

Chapter II

After we had arranged all things in this way, it seemed right to us that we should appoint for Armenia III a distinguished personage who had already proved himself in office and was worthy of such a weighty and important position. Taking into consideration the fact that the most magnificent Thomas has already occupied various posts in the country of Armenia and that he has been a capable and knowing man in other circumstances, that he has served and still serves us loyally, we raise him to this position, so that he should now govern this province according to the system established by us and concern himself carefully with all that we transmit to him either in person or through our sacred *commonitoria* concerning the province entrusted to his care or any other. We have already prepared for him sacred *commonitoria* on many and varied problems and it behoves him to put them into effect in other spheres as well.

1. Concerning the clergy, as we have often stated, our will is as follows, that it remain in its previous order. Nothing new is to be introduced either in connexion with the rights of metropolitans or concerning the laying on of hands. But whoever formerly had the power to lay on hands, he shall also have it now, and the former metropolitans shall remain in their position, thus in relation to the clergy no innovations are permitted.

Chapter III

Since the count of Armenia III was appointed by us not only with civilian but also with military powers, there can be no question but that all troops stationed in his province are necessarily also subordinated to him. He is empowered by the right inherent in a military commander to call up soldiers in his own name, to seek out and concern himself with their supplies, to pursue their criminal activities, if there be such, and not to allow the soldiers to oppress his subjects. In the case of more serious offenses, moreover, he may also judge capital offenses if the defendent be a soldier. Whatever is granted to a military commander, he is empowered to do. Just as we have granted military authority to the Count of Isauria, the Count of Phrygia Pankratia, as well as to the *praetors* of Lykaonia, Pisidia, and Thrace, so he shall also have not only an *officium* for civilian affairs, but likewise authority and jurisdiction over soldiers. When he gives an order, both soldiers and civilians shall be subject to him as the sole wielder of authority. The count shall watch vigilantly

that no crime be committed in his province and that such as occur shall be subject to suitable punishments. Under no circumstances do we deprive him of this right with regard to any inhabitant whatsoever of his province, whether it be a private individual, or a soldier, or a financial official. We desire to observe a single and eternal peace among our subjects and not to differentiate among men thus developing in them a contempt for the law.

Epilogue

Thus let thy excellency take care to supervise these our decisions concerning the organization of the four Armenias now and in the future; especially those concerning Armenia III which has served as the motive for the promulgation of the present law. And let [thy excellency] do everything, even promulgating thine own regulations, so that each year the taxes be paid in proportion with what has been established by us.

Dat. XV K. April.CP. post consul. Belisarii V.C.

As a result of this *Novella,* the Armenian territories, that is to say those extensive districts inhabited by Armenians subject to the Empire taken in a broader sense than the ones considered at the time of creation of the military commands, were subjected to an administrative reform and reorganization on the same bases as the whole of the Empire. Four provinces, all bearing the name of Armenia, were created. Certain portions of Pontus Polemoniacus and Helenopontus were transferred by the new division to the Armenian provinces, whose boundaries were thereby extended northward toward the sea as well as toward the West. Our *Novella* was promulgated on the 17th [sic] day before the Kalends of April, that is to say on 18 March, 536. The *Novella* concerning the re-union of Pontus Polemoniacus and Helenopontus, and appointing for them a common governor called the *moderator Helenoponti,* was promulgated a short time before, specifically on 23 July, 535 [16b]. In addition to all other considerations, the name of Pontus Polemoniacus displeased the Emperor because of its derivation from the name of the usurper, and he was of the opinion that, " it would be far more suitable to name localities with Christian and imperial names than with those which recall wars and disturbances " [17].

There were at that time eight cities in Helenopontus: Amasia, Ivora, Euchaita, Zela, Antrapa, Sinope, Amisos, and Leontopolis.

In Pontus Polemoniacus there were five: Neo-Caesarea, Komana, Trapezos, Kerasos, and Polemonion [18]. At the time of the creation of the Armenian provinces, it was convenient for Justinian to take the four cities of Zela, Komana, Trapezos and Kerasos from under the authority of the *moderator* and add them to the Armenian territories. Armenia I together with Interior Armenia and these cities formed two new provinces. All of Interior Armenia, part of Armenia I, within the limits — Satala, Nikopolis, Koloneia — and the newly acquired Pontic cities of Trapezos and Kerasos taken together formed the first province which received the name of Armenia I. The other province consisted of the remaining portion of Armenia I, with the cities of Sebasteia, Sebastopolis and Brisa, and of the Pontic cities of Zela and Komana; it was called Armenia II. Former Armenia II was re-named Armenia III without territorial alterations; it included the cities of Melitenē, Arka, Arabissos, Ariaratheia, Golden Komana and Koukousos. Finally the lands of the autonomous principalities of Sophanenē, Anzitenē, Sophenē, Asthianenē, and Belabitenē formed one province, with the name of Armenia IV and Martyropolis as its capital [18a].

There can be no doubt that the formerly independent satrapal possessions were first transformed into an Imperial province in 536 by means of this *Novella*, since this is clearly indicated in this official document. The situation is different in the case of Interior Armenia. According to certain and rather clear indications, attempts had been made to introduce a provincial organization there even before the promulgation of our *Novella*. There is an interesting remark concerning a proconsul of Armenia in one of the *Novellae* promulgated simultaneously with the Armenian one, namely on 18 March, 536, " Formerly we had instituted there ordinary authority, now, however, having added nothing to it, we have transferred it to the rank of a proconsular province " [19]. We have already seen that the governor of the section of Greater Armenia known as Interior Armenia (*ἄρχων Ἀρμενίας Μεγάλης*) is included together with those of Armenias I and II in the list of provinces dating from 15 April 535 [20]. It is clear that even before the promulgation of the *Novella* of 18 March, 536, an Imperial civilian authority vested in an *archon* or *praeses ordinarius* existed in this district. All that took place in the year 536 was merely the elevation of the official from the rank of *clarissimus* to that of *spectabilis*; the replacement of the *archon* by a *proconsul*.

A new capital " adorned with the blessed name ", of the Emperor obviously had to be selected at the time of the civilian re-organization of the country. The existing capital, Theodosiopolis, was assigned to the military commander, moreover, since it was situated on the frontier of the province near enemy territory, it could not become the center of a civilian administration [20a]. Another site, with a central position was needed for this purpose, and a village not far from Bizana proved suitable. The construction and re-naming of this city as Justinianopolis preceded the promulgation of the *Novella* [21]. Likewise Akakios was already governor of Armenia when the *Novella* appeared; both these facts are evident from the text of the decree. We also know that Akakios was not the first representative of the imperial power in Interior Armenia. This district had been ruled before him by Hamazasp, one of the native princes appointed *archon* of the Armenians by Justinian himself. Akakios, by means of malignant denunciations, finally obtained the Emperors consent to Hamazasp's death and his own assumption of the power in Armenia, but soon afterward he too was killed by the Armenians [22].

Hamazasp and, at first, Akakios were simple governors [ἀρχόντες], and the Armenian territory subject to them belonged to the category of ordinary provinces. When it was raised to proconsular rank in 536, " nothing was added to it ", according to the words of the Emperor [22a]. This assertion is puzzling if taken in a territorial sense, and yet it can be understood in no other one. This would imply that Proconsular Armenia, within the limits seemingly first established in *Novella XXXI*, had in reality been created earlier, *i.e.* that the former governor had the same amount of territory as the subsequent proconsul. We know from *Novella XXVIII* of 23 July, 535, that the cities of Trapezos and Kerasos, which became part of Proconsular Armenia, were still under the authority of the *moderator* of Pontus at that time [22b]. Consequently, if any ordinances, now lost, existed on this subject, they would have to date from the period between 23 July, 535 and 18 March, 536 [23].

Hamazasp, the first governor and representative of Imperial power in Inner Armenia after the abolition of the office of count, was apparently appointed at the time of the peace of 532 ending the Persian war, and as a result of the dissentions which had then arisen among the Armenian princes. It is significant that the Armenian embassy which came to king *X*usrō I, dated the beginning of Justinian's oppression

from that year [23a]. The statement of the Armenians naturally tried to underscore the uselessness of the peace, in as much as it soon proved favourable to Justinian. But in addition to its propaganda intention, we must see a foundation of truth in the reference to the year of the peace as the beginning of Armenia's misfortunes, in the sense that this was the date when the Emperor evidently began to interfere in the affairs of the country by introducing into it a representative of the Imperial authority. The attempt to broaden the limits of Internal Armenia may also have followed at that time, but the complete re-organization of Armenia as a whole, together with the territorial alterations, must belong to the year 536, when the famous *Novella* was promulgated.

The division of Armenia into four parts seems to run counter to the unifying tendency noted in Justinian's provincial policy. In fact, even here the general principle was adhered to insofar as it was needed from the judicial point of view. Legally, the four provinces formed two large districts respectively under the jurisdiction of the proconsul and of the count. Both of them had the rank of *spectabiles* and all the powers appropriate to it up to an to un-appealable verdict within the set limit of 500 *nomismata*. Appeals from Armenia II went to the proconsul, and from Armenia IV to the count [23b].

Of the two northern provinces, the one to the east became *spectabilis*. We might think this the result of an increase in power in areas adjoining enemy territory. In such a case, however, we should expect the same imperial action in the south, yet the count appointed by Justinian was placed in Armenia III rather than in Armenia IV. Nor did Justinian act from a consideration of the natural advantages of the capital of Melitenē, its scenic position, or the air which so pleased the Emperor. In both cases Justinian was guided not by serious policy but by a simple calculation, the intention to reward the imperial favourites, Akakios and Thomas. At the time of promulgation of the *Novella*, Thomas as well as Akakios held office in Armenia. The Emperor showed particular care for these provinces, not from a realization of their superiority, but merely for the sake of their governors of the moment.

The personality of Akakios is fairly well known from Procopius. An Armenian by birth, he was nevertheless far removed from the interests of his native land. In his rôle as governor of Armenia, he did not succeed in reconciling his loyalty to the throne with the

simple qualities of an honourable man. He reached the governorship itself by cunning and through the shedding of his kinsman's blood; a man cruel by nature, he breathed an incomprehensible hatred toward his compatriotes [24]. In the brief period of his rule he succeeded in accomplishing so much evil that the Armenians could bear his oppressions no further, and he met his death at their hands.

As for Thomas, the laudatory references of Justinian to him, as a valuable and honest official, prove rather that he was not far from Akakios in qualities and outlook, and that his activity must be thought negative from the point of view of the country and its inhabitants. As a reward for their merits the Emperor invested both faithful servants with the rank of *spectabilis*. To Count Thomas he assigned a salary of 700 *solidi*, a considerable increase over the customary 300 *solidi* received by the *praetors* of provinces equal to him in rank and position — as for example in Pisidia, Lykaonia and Thrace, or by the Count of Isauria [25]. His assistant, however, received a salary corresponding to the norm for that office, namely 72 *solidi*. His *officium* or chancery received a smaller salary than was usual, 60 *solidi* as against 2 litres of gold [26]. The numerical composition of the *officium* varied with the type of functions and with the period; Justinian was in general inclined to limit it. Thus he reduced the *officia* of governors such as *praetors*, and counts entrusted with civilian and military authority, to one hundred men [27].

The proconsul Akakios was probably similarly honoured. Among his signs of distinction are mentioned the *stola* and other privileges; by this we must understand the right to the *sella currulis*, the *fasces* and *securis*, the primordial attributes of proconsular authority. They were, for example, at the disposal of the proconsul of Cappadocia and of the praetor of Pisidia [28].

We have seen that one of the dukes had had his seat at Melitenē [28a]. The position of this duke automatically disappeared with the appointment of a count to whom the duties of a military commander had also been delegated. The importance and the responsible character of the office of count were due in part to the complexity of his functions. Thomas proved to be the experienced administrator capable of fulfilling the rigorous demands of this office. He too was an Armenian, and undoubtedly the Thomas who had served in Lazika where "... this Thomas had built many strongholds ... at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor

an intelligent person " [28b]. He had a son John, surnamed Gouzes, who was still young at the siege of Petra in 550, but was outstandingly gifted for war, and distinguished himself in the capture of the city [29]. As a native, Thomas was well acquainted with the district in which he was being appointed and with all its pecularities, all the more since he had already served in it. Such a man seemed particularly suited to put the Imperial intentions into practice and to carry out the transformation of the country. He was strictly admonished to conform in all his actions to the supreme commands, the *sacra commonitoria*, and to supervise their application not only in the province entrusted to him as count, but also outside it, primarily in the neighbouring Armenia IV.

We do not know the content of these *commonitoria*. We can guess that they consisted in advice on open or secret means for the successful application of the Imperial system in provinces distinguished by characteristic native institutions. *Armenia Interior* and the Satrapies, *i.e.* Armenias I and IV were in the stage of socio-political development known in the native terminology as the *naχarar* system. We will subsequently discuss this system in detail; let it suffice here to say that the basis of the *naχarar* system was merely the local variation of the world-wide phenomenon known in the West under the name of feudalism.

Only a relatively small fragment of the vast territory in which *naχarar* customs prevailed lay in the Empire. At the time of the division of the inheritance of the Arsacids, one fourth of it went to the Emperors and three-fourths to Persia [29a]. Interior Armenia and the Satrapies formed the western border of *naχarar* Armenia. *Naχarar*-ism as a social pattern determined the cultural and social climate shared by Armenia and Iran. In it were hidden the basic ties linking Armenian and Persian life. In spite of their political division, the Imperial and Persian parts of Armenia showed a certain unity from the point of view of their *naχarar* structure. The *naχarar* ruling princes of Imperial Armenia were bound by indissoluble ties to their kinsmen in Persarmenia, and together with them they showed a certain inclination toward Persia. The Empire had to take this unwelcome phenomenon into consideration. The Emperor Justinian naturally did not overlook this fact in his zeal for reform, and he took measures to destroy or at least to dislocate the bases of feudal usages in Armenia; several of the famous *commonitoria* were probably devoted

to this problem. Two documents unquestionably connected with the means to be used against this feudal system have come down to us. Both of them affect the laws of inheritance then in force in Armenia [29b]. At first glance they seem to have nothing in common with the problem of feudalism; in reality they are a key to the substructure of Justinian's reformss. One of these is the decree "*Concerning the Order of Inheritance among the Armenians*", the other, the *Novella* ordering "*That the Armenians Should Follow Roman Laws in All Ways*". Let us study the text of these documents.

Concerning the Order of Inheritance among the Armenians [29c]

Introduction

We desire to free the Armenians also from former injustice, to transfer them altogether to our laws, and to give them fitting equality.

Chapter I

Not long ago we learned of a barbarous and harsh law existing among them, which befits neither Romans nor the spirit of justice of our realm, namely that men are allowed to succeed their fathers but under no circumstances women. As a result of this we ordain by the promulgation of this sacred law in the name of thy magnificence, that succession must be equal, and that all that is laid down in the Roman laws concerning men and women shall have force in Armenia, since it is for this reason that our laws have been forwarded there, that the manner of life should conform to them.

1. Since to raise once again a matter already past is fraught with difficulties, we command that the force of this law be recognized from the time of our blessed reign, and that action in the cases of persons who have died from that moment shall be according to the present law except in cases where matters have already been settled or decided in some way. If something of this kind has already been done, we command that it be left in force and not altered in any way.

2. We desire that women should also receive a share in the family estates beginning with the date indicated. If by chance there should be found persons who list their daughters as heiresses, even though they are not eligible under their custom of intestate (ἀδιαθέτος) inheritance, then they and the children born from them shall participate in the inheritance of the family estates.

Epilogue

Thus let thy exellency preserve and put into effect our will expressed in this blessed law. All of our laws must have force and sovereignty. The present law as we have indicated enters into effect from the beginning of our reign, for all that is past and for future times it is necessary to be guided rigorously by it and to observe it in all ways.
Dat. XVII K. Aug. Belisario v.c. Cons.

That the Armenians Should Follow Roman Laws in All Ways [29d]

From the Emperor in person to the most magnificent Akakios Proconsul of Armenia.

Prologue

Desiring that the land of Armenia should prosper altogether and should differ in no way from our realm, we have established Roman institutions. Having abolished its former names, we have taught it to make use of Roman systems and have laid down that there should be no laws among them except those honoured among the Romans. We have also found it necessary to correct the glaring defects of their lives by this law, so that inheritance from parents, brothers, and other relatives should no longer belong to men alone and never to women, according to a barbaric custom, and likewise so that women should no longer be married without dowries and bought by their bridegrooms. These signs of extreme barbarousness are common among them to this day. Indeed, such outlandish customs exist not only among them. There are other peoples who act equally irreverently toward nature and destroy the female sex as though it were not created by God and did not serve the survival of the race, but rather as though it were unimportant and contemptible, in a position without honour.

Chapter I

In view of this we command that through this sacred law the same usages should be in effect among the Armenians as are customary among us without any difference whatsoever between the male and female sexes. As inheritances take place here, exactly as it has been laid down in our legislation and in the precise form in which one inherits from relatives, namely from father, mother, or uncle or grandmother, and so on in the ascending and equally in the descending line, that is to say to the son or to the daughter; so shall it take place among the Armenians, and in no way shall the legal norms of

Armenia diverge from those of the Romans. Since the Armenians are part of our Empire, are subject to us equally with other peoples and taste our privileges, their women must not be excluded from the equality existing among us. The compulsion of our laws must bind all equally, both those which were gathered by us from ancient decrees and included in our *Institutes* and *Digest*, and also other laws promulgated by former Emperors and by us.

Chapter II

Hence we command that all of this shall go into effect for the future from the present XIV indiction in which this law was composed. To search in more ancient affairs, however, and to go back into the past means to introduce confusion rather than order. From the beginning of the present XIV indiction, as we have just said, for all future times, what legally pertains to inheritance must henceforth be carried out; inheritance must be equal in all ways, alike with regard to the women as also to the men. As for what took place before, we permit to leave everything in its former state whether the matter pertain to family possessions or to other things. Persons of the female sex must in no way be considered as sharers in family estates already devided or in inheritances which took place up to the XIII indiction inclusively. From the term given, however, that is to say from the XIV indiction, that which we have decreed shall be in effect.

Epilogue

Let thy excellency and those who occuppy this position after thee endeavor to care for our will as expressed in this sacred law for all times.

Dat. XV K. Apr. Constantinop. post Belisarii v.c. consul.

Both documents have a single theme. One of them, the one addressed to Akakios, is dated 18 March, 536, and was, consequently promulgated at the same time as *Novella* [XXXI], concerning the reorganization of Armenia. The date of promulgation of the other document is not exactly known, but in one manuscript the date 23 July, 535 is given, and it can be taken as correct [29c]. In any case, its appearence must be put before 18 March, 536, when *Novella* [XXI], on inheritance, was promulgated. According to the *Edict*, the new regulations concerning inheritance were to go into effect as of the accession of Justinian, but the retroactive application of the new law

apparently caused complications. New dispositions were needed to eliminate these difficulties, and were introduced with the promulgation of *Novella* [XXI], on the order of inheritance. In this document the *terminus a quo* for the application of the law was set at the XIV indiction that is to say, at September 535. Hence, the first document unquestionably antedated the second [30].

The personage to whom the first *Edict* was addressed is not known since the title of the document is lost. From the formula, " ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχή ", found in the concluding word of this *Edict*, we must presume that it was addressed to John, the Praetorian Prefect of the East, who was also the official to whom *Novella* XXXI was addressed. " Ὑπεροχή ", the Latin *excellentia*, the equivalent of our " highness " or " excellency ", is the usual title of this Prefect, as is evident from the numerous *Novellae* promulgated in his name. The new law in the *Edict* is promulgated "πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρεπείαν ", a title given to Akakios in *Novella* [XXI] [30a]. Might Thomas, who was an official of equal rank with Akakios be intended here? This question is of minor importance, since there can be no doubt that in whosoever's name the laws on Armenia were promulgated, copies of them would be sent to Akakios, Thomas, and their superior the Prefect John.

In both documents the Emperor carries through the principle of the equality of women in matters of inheritance. He notes the existence among the Armenians of the custom whereby women received nothing through inheritance, no right of inheritance being recognized to them. This may also explain in part the statement that women marry without dowry and that on the contrary the bridegroom pays for or buys his bride. There is no reason for doubting the truth of this statement in the official document. It seems only that the nature of the gifts made by the bridegroom to his intended bride has been somewhat exaggerated.

In the Graeco-Roman world the dowry played an important part in the institution of marriage; its amount was exactly specified in the contract which was drawn up at the time of the betrothal. It was called φέρνη or προΐξ among the Greeks and *dos* among the Romans. It was also customary for the bridegroom to bring in compensation certain gifts to the bride; these were called προγαμιαία δωρεά - *ante nuptias donatio*. This pre-marital gift of the bridegroom seems to have had a less mandatory character than the dowry of the bride.

In the period 531-533 of Justinian's reign, the *donatio ante nuptias* was renamed *donatio propter nuptias*, thus setting the gifts of the bridegroom on the same level as the dowry, or *dos* of the bride, of which the Emperor says *propter nuptias fit.* The *donatio*, according to the clarification of Justinian, was not merely a gift but the equivalent or answer to the dower offer of the bride; it was an *antipherna*, a reciprocation. Consequently the *donatio* became mandatory, on a par with the *dos*. The dowry was not, however, considered an indispensable preliminary of marriage. According to Justinian, " *sine dote autem nuptias possunt celebrari* ", in other words, weddings without a dowry were permissible [31].

In 538, two years after the promulgation of the Armenian *Novella*, Justinian decreed the indispensability of a marriage contract for persons of a certain rank. The *Novella* states,

> In the cases of bearers of higher titles up to senators and *illustres*, marriage must be accompanied by a dowry and a prenuptial gift and by all that befits such illustrious names [32].

They are granted the right to conclude marriages without dowries, " according to mere inclination ", but in such a case the couple is obliged to appear in church before the *defensor* (ἔκδικος) to receive a certificate indicating that such and such persons had entered into wedlock at such and such a time " [33]. This requirement is incidentally interesting in that it also indicates the origin of church weddings.

A few years later, in 542, a new *Novella* of Justinian rescinded the decree just mentioned that newlyweds should present themselves to a church elder, or *defensor*. The author of this *Novella* says,

> Not long ago we published a law that marriages should be concluded either by means of a contract or by means of an oath in the presence of the *defensor* of a church for the sake of the solidity of the marriage. At the present time, however, we prefer to abide by the statutes which existed formerly. Consequently we ordain that persons adorned with higher titles up to that of *illustris* should enter into wedlock in no manner other than by means of marriage contracts.

The evasion of the legislator on the following point is noteworthy,

> The exact fulfilment of this law is not required from barbarians subject to the Empire, even if they bear the titles noted, but they are granted the possibility, should they so desire, of entering into wedlock on the basis of inclination alone [34].

As for persons not of high rank, they were free to enter into whatsoever marriage they desired, either by contract with a dowry, or, without it, through the mutual agreement of the spouses [35]. In view of the non-obligatory character of the property requirements for the bridal couple, there was no basis for singling out the barbarousness of Armenian customs, because they did not agree with Imperial laws. How did these matters stand in Armenia, and what were the peculiarities in the institution of marriage displeasing to Justinian?

The classical *donatio* was nothing more than a survival from a distant past, a memory of the custom according to which the bridegroom obtained his bride through gifts (ἕδνα) or in other words, bought her. This form of marriage, characteristic of peoples at a certain period of their development, was not foreign to the Greeks either, according to the authoritative testimony of Aristotle [36]; it also existed in antiquity among the Armenians. According to the national Epic, the Armenian king Artašēs, having vanquished the Alans in war wished to take the daughter of their king princess Sat'enik as his bride. The king of the Alans answered as follows to the proposal of Artašēs,

> ... and where will the brave Artašes find thousand upon thousand and myriad upon myriad to pay for the noble maiden princess of the Alans? ... [then]. The valiant king Artašēs climbed on his fair black steed, pulled out a long red leather strap with golden rings; he flew like an eagle across the river, he threw the red leather golden ringed strap on the princess of the Alans, and painfully binding the tender waist of the princess, — he brought her swiftly to his camp [37].

The Armenian historian, Movsēs Xorenaçi, who quotes the words of this popular tale, believes that they must be taken allegorically, and proposes his own interpretation. According to him, the "red leather strap with golden rings", indicates that,

> because red leather was highly prized among the Alans, he [the Armenian king] presented them with a great deal of leather and with much gold as a bridal gift and took as wife the princess Sat'enik [37a].

The interpretation of Xorenaçi is not necessarily correct, but it is very interesting. Imbued with a rationalistic outlook, the Armenian historian sought a profound meaning everywhere and often found allegory where none existed. In this case, the native bards, the

Vipasan, merely sang of the way in which the Armenian king riding on his black horse had kidnapped the daughter of the king of the Alans with the help of his red strap. Their lively description shows the custom of abduction, one of the earliest means of obtaining a bride. The royal lariat is described as being woven of red strips, that is to say of leather of high quality, and adorned with a ring, as befits a king. The explanation of *X*orenaçi is important, however, because it reflects a form of marriage through purchase gifts which was contemporary and familiar to him. Abduction was evidently no longer known to him, and the presence of the lariat was puzzling. He solved the problem by changing the lariat into red leather, a valuable object of value required for a bridal gift. *X*orenaçi uses the single word *varjank'* = " payment " to describe everything that Artašēs had given for the princess, *i.e.* the red leather and the gold. Obviously this was the payment which was taken by the Romans as the purchase of the bride, and condemned in the *Novella* of Justinian. In this sense the words of the *Novella* are partially justified.

The same cannot be said for its evidence on the problem of dowries. In view of the existence of the word, *awžit*, meaning "the dowry of a bride ", in Ancient Armenian, we cannot accept with impunity Justinian's assertion that among the Armenians women married without dowries. This word belongs to the non-Indo-European stratum of the Armenian language, and its antiquity is, therefore, unquestionable [37b]. In the *Syrian Lawcode*, where property relations of spouses are treated in detail, we incidentally find a note to the effect that

> ... that which the husband brings to the wife is called in Greek, *dastīr* in Persian, *zabhdā* or *mahrā* in Syrian [38].

The Syrian word *zabhdā* given here corresponds etymologically to the Armenian *awžit*. The three letter root, *z-b-d* corresponds to the Armenian *w-z-t* with the customary transfer and alteration [39]. This word in Armenian and in Syrian designates a gift in general, and more particularly a dowry. Although the *Syrian Lawcode* equates it with δωρεά, the gift which the bridegroom gives to his bride, in common Syrian as well as Armenian usage it designated primarily the dowry of a bride [40].

The Persian synonym *dastīr*, more exactly *dastiri* (the contracted form of *dastiari*) has the actual sense of " help " or " support " [41];

it meant the gift of the bridegroom to the bride. We know from the same *Code* that the bridal dowry was also customary among the Persians. In contrast to the laws of the Roman Empire where the bridegroom had to pay back to his bride the same amount as she brought him in dowry (φερνή) in the East, that is to say in the Sasanian realm, the custom was that,

> ... if the wife brings 100 *denarii*, then the husband brings the half. Sometimes the husband brings more than the wife, sometimes nothing, and occasionality the wife brings nothing [42].

We must presume that these same customs existed also in Armenia, as part of the Iranian cultural sphere.

It is altogether uncertain whether the Roman notions of προΐξ and δωρεά in their contractual sense ever entered into Armenian life, and if so to what extent. The terms themselves are found in a few Armenian documents in the forms *p̔royg* [պռոյգ] and *towayr* [տուայր]. To the best of our knowledge, they occur for the first time in the Armenian translation of the *Syrian-Roman Lawcode* [43]. The Armenian translation is far from being as old as the Syrian original. The transcriptions and the linguistic evidence in general indicate a date close to the Cilician period. Petermann believed that the translator was Mχit'ar Goš [44], but the identity of the translator is now established with certainty on the basis of his own colophon published by the Mχit'arists. The Syrian document was translated into Armenian by the famous Cilician bishop Nersēs Lambronaçi in the days of the kat'ołikos Gregory VI in the year 645 of the Armenian Era = A.D. 1197, according to the testimony of a learned Syrian priest named Theodosius [45]. On the other hand, Mχit'ar Goš, by his own testimony, composed his work in 1184. The two codices, therefore, saw the light at almost the same time; but since the work of Mχit'ar was still some thirteen years older than the translation of the *Syrian Code*, there can be no question of Mχit'ar's dependence upon it [46]. The passages common to both, unless they are derived from imperial sources, must be attributed to additions to the original work of Mχit'ar Goš made by persons acquainted with the translation of the *Syrian Code*.

The present edition of the work of Mχit'ar Goš, for which we are indebted to Father Bastamean, a learned member of the Community of Ejmiacin, is not altogether satisfactory, in spite of its value [46a]. The editor accepts on faith all that is attributed to Goš in the manuscripts

without considering the variants noted by himself. A critical study, however, easily reveals later accretions, *i.e.* elements which have crept into Mχit'ar's *Code* after his time. We believe that the articles on *ṗroyg* and *towayr* show the influence of the Cilician translation of the *Syrian Code* and should consequently be classified among the additions to the *Code* of Mχit'ar Goš. According to the *Syrian Code*, the Emperor Leo decreed,

> ... that which the wife brings, let them write it down as *proyg* (προΐξ); likewise, let them also record *towayr* (δωρεά), that is to say, *varjank'* or *mahrā* [46b].

In the *Code* of Mχit'ar Goš, however, one of the articles begins as follows:

> Among the Muslim the conclusion of a marriage takes place differently; first they set the price of the bride, this is called *mahrā* — the same is called *towayr* among the Romans, then they determine the share of the bride in the property of her father, this is called *ṗroyg* [47].

It is impossible to miss here the influence of the Armenian translation of the *Syrian Code*, on the terminology; the actual concepts were probably foreign to the Armenian society reflected in pre-Cilician literature. It is interesting that although the author of this interpolated article, underscores the Roman origin of προΐξ and δωρεά, he then immediately becomes evasive,

> ... the matter does not lie thus among us: the husband does not pay the price to be paid for a bride, but gives a few things which are called *eresactes* (երեսացտես) "to see the face" whereas the bride enters into the house of her husband with a dowry [48].

Even in our times, in the patriarchal strata of Armenia society, as yet untouched by new ideas, a young girl begins to hide from her bridegroom and his close relatives after her betrothal. It is not customary for her to appear before them, to be present among them with an uncovered face, or to speak with them. In all case, this is considered in poor taste and unadvisable for a bride, and this also holds true in her relations with the relatives of the bridegroom during the first years of marriage. The right to each of these steps is obtained through

the presentation of gifts, which bear appropriate names, to the bride [49]. These ceremonies are performed in different ways from place to place. In the *Code* of Goš the whole collection of gifts is apparently called *eresactes*. The purpose of the presents is to accustom a stranger to a new milieu; it is no more than a survival in symbolic form of the old bridal gift, the *varjank'*, which has taken on the character of presents.

The Armenian *awzit* and *varjank'* are then basically equivalent to the Graeco-Roman *προΐξ* and *δωρεά*, or *dos* and *donatio*. Like them, they were not mandatory but had been re-inforced and consecrated through by the sole force of custom. Under these circumstances, how are we to understand the denunciations in Justinian's *Novella*?

We believe that the main reason for the promulgation of this *Novella* was the existence of family estates, the problem of the division of the lands called "*γενεαρχικὰ χωρία*" in the *Novellae*. This was the category of lands in which women could not inherit a share under the existing system. According to the statement of the Emperor, under the system prevailing in Armenia, daughters could not inherit "*ἐκ ἀδιαθέτου* (*ab intestato*)" [49a]. The history of jurisprudence shows systems of inheritance both with and without wills. In the latter case, that is to say when a man dies without having made a will, the inheritance takes place according to the law of *successio ab intestato*. This system is unquestionably older than the system of inheritance through wills. In early periods of history, law or custom kept to an agnatic basis, that is to say it recognized the right of inheritance only in the male line of descendants. This basis was also known in the classical world, and Roman law to the time of Justinian had not quite abandoned it [50]. The existing laws on the rights of inheritance presented such a confusion of different systems, that Justinian was forced to review this entire question and to regulate severly the rules of inheritance. Several *Novellae* were promulgated with this aim, among them one *Concerning the Abolition of Agnatic Rights and the Establishment of Inheritances ab Intestato* [51]. This law appeared in 543, that is to say after the Armenian *Novella*. If then agnatic rights still held a pre-eminent position in the imperial legislation, there seems to be no basis for his amazement or for the accusations of barbaric survivals, since the same system, albeit in its pure form, still existed among the Armenians.

The emperor was interested in the "*γενεαρχικὰ χωρία*", and these lands are to be understood as the Armenian *naχarar* estates.

Naχarar law was composed of tribal and feudal elements. In the feudal world, as is well known, land passed along the agnatic line from father to son or to brother, with the exclusion of women from the line of succession; the same was true of the Salic law [52]. This system was derived from the very nature of feudalism: since feudal land tenure was conditional upon military service, women, because of their incapacity to fulfill this obligation, naturally had to be excluded from the right to hold land. Similarly in a tribal society, the non-participation of women in land inheritance was explained by their inability to fulfill the tribal obligation of the blood feud, which corresponded to the military service of the feudal period. The Armenian *naχarar* system, feudal in content and tribal in form, took toward women or the cognate line the position dictated by its character: the right to land was not extended to them. According to the evidence of the *Novella* the custom of making wills did not exist in Armenian private law [53], and this fact is most characteristic of the *naχarar* system. Since conditional land holding in Armenia followed a tribal pattern, the need for making wills obviously did not exist. A will is an act of free disposition permitted in cases of personal ownership; hence, it is of necessity foreign to a milieu with a tradition of clan property. An individual heading a clan as its leading representative, was merely the administrator of the common clan property and was not empowered to transmit his power to some other person in accordance with his own decision. According to tribal custom, there can be only successors but no heirs, moreover, the order of succession is determined, not by the individual will of any particular successor, but according to rights of birth: blood kinship and seniority. Thus, for instance, among the Germans " ... each man's children are his heirs and there is no will " [54]. Consequently, the absence of wills must be considered a characteristic feature of *naχarar* private law in Armenia.

The historians report that the Armenian patriarch, Sahak I, for lack of a son, left all his possessions to his only daughter, the Mamikonean princess, and to her descendants forevermore [55]. As we shall see, feudal regulations also functioned in the Church, consequently, evidence taken from ecclesiastical life is entirely appropriate as illustration for *naχarar* customs. Łazar P'arpeçi explains this will in favour of a daughter by the fact that " Sahak had no son ", This would seem to indicate that the rights of a daughter manifested themselves only where there was no male heir. Here too, we can observe a simil-

arity to western feudalism. Where women gradually acquired the right of inheritance to a fief, and where their rights were first recognized precisely in cases where the male line had come to an end [56].

Thus the Armenian custom of inheritance *ab intestato* is an unquestionable fact. When, however, we ask why the Imperial authority manifested antagonism toward it, the only explanation possible is the desire of the Emperor to weaken the *naχarar* system. Like any native system, historically developped, and forming a bulwark against foreign aggressors, the *naχarar* system stood in the way of the centralizing aims of the great imperialist. The demands of Justinian, like any other measure directed against the unity of the *naχarar* lands, would necessarily undercut the power of the princes which was based on their lands. In spite of his repeated affirmations, it is evident that a concern for the welfare of the country was the last motive which urged the Emperor toward reform. The grandiloquent prologues of the *Novella* on Armenia hardly fulfill their purported aims. What matters is not the fact that the reformer looks down on local culture; a contemptuous attitude toward the Orient and its culture was as characteristic of the ancient West as of the present one. We might think that the Armenian nation had, indeed, stagnated in some sort of disorderly and chaotic conditions and that Justinian had decided to lead it out of this confusion for the sake of the development and welfare of the Armenians. The true purpose of the bombastic style of the *Novellae* is to obscure the truth.

The *Novellae* of Justinian, as literary works, have a certain scholastic flavour both in form and content. They are all composed according to a single stereotype and invariable consist of three parts, a prologue, a development, and an epilogue. Furthermore, some maxim or aphorism is presented in the prologue as the thesis of which the provisions listed in the development are intended to be the realization. Such theses are far from expressing the true motives of the reform; they reflect traditional literary tastes rather than legislative truth. For instance, the prologue of *Novella XXVI* claims that " the Romans would never have created a world Empire if their provincial governors had not been surrounded with honours ". *Novella XXV* begins with the statement that " the population of Lycaonia, because of its illustrious descent from King Lycaeonius, is related to the Roman people and is, therefore, entitled to a more worthy ruler ". The

promulgation of *Novella XXVI* was presumably caused by the fact that "the name Thracian is related to the concept of something powerful and warlike". Pontus Polemoniacus and Helenopontus had to be unified by means of *Novella XXVIII* because, "power does not lie in a multitude of names but in the true state of affairs". And Paphlagonia deserved to be reformed as "an ancient people not without honour". Finally the transformation of Cappadocia was also presumably based on the "famous reputation and name of a people who once ruled all of Pontus" [56a], etc.

All of these considerations were in reality very far from the actual reason for the reforms. We have already pointed out the general bases of Justinian's reforming activity; if he also took the situation of a particular province into consideration, then it was primarily in the interest of the treasury. The provincial *Novellae* owed their appearance not to romantic reminiscences of a pleasing past, but to alarming disaffection as a result of which, as the *Novellae* themselves admit, vast regions with settled populations frequently refused to pay taxes, and restless gangs roved through the area, murdering and plundering [57].

The prologues of the Armenian *Novellae* are worth no more than the introductory maxims of *Novellae* in general. Armenian practices might of course seem chaotic in the eyes of Justinian, but his concern with re-organization was not to further the interests of the country, it was above all to regularize and secure the state revenues. From this point of view, the candid epilogue of *Novella XXXI* in which the Emperor charged the prefect to watch closely over the accurate payment of the taxes, contains far more truth, and it may be said to tear from the text of the *Novella* its specious veiling of good will.

Justinian achieved his goal, at least at the beginning. According to the statement of a contemporary, Akakios, the governor of Armenia I who had won the Emperor's praise, "plundered [the people] ... without excuse and ordained that they should pay an unheard-of tax of four centenaria" [58].

VIII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUSTINIAN'S REFORM IN ARMENIA

The reaction of the Armenians to the reform of Justinian — The immediate results of the reforms — The disintegration of the *naχarar* system — The migration of Armenians in to the Empire and the revival of the lands of Lesser Armenia: the preparation of the ethnic substratum for the theme of Armeniakon and the kingdom of Cilicia — The significance of the Armenian migration from the Imperial point of view — The effect of the migration on the fate of Armenia — The influence of Imperial culture on Armenia and the philhellenic school — The policy of Justinian from the point of view of the interests of the Eastern Empire.

« Παντὸς δὲ συγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου τε καὶ σκεδαννυμένου ἀεὶ πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς».

When we try to determine and to evaluate the significance of the reforming activity of Justinian, we should first take the place of the contemporaries and clarify the reaction of the country at that time, although this point of view is often subjective, conditioned in a large measure by the occurences of the moment, and not always justified by subsequent events. Frequently a phenomenon or an action, positive by nature, proves to be negative after an objective weighing of the further course of history, when, thanks to the influence of chance factors from without, completely unexpected consequences develop and no longer fit into the general pattern of earlier events.

The revolt against the Imperial power in Armenia which followed immediately after the reform of Justinian, shows that the Armenians reacted negatively to the system imposed on them by the Empire. The increase in taxation associated with the changes created great discontent in the population and led to bloody clashes. All these were soon settled, however, and the ring leaders of the rebellion, having made their peace with the Emperor, moved to the capital.

What were the changes subsequently made in the re-organization of Justinian; did the Armenians obtain a lightening of their lot, or did the measures once passed continue to operate unaltered? This

we do not know. The problem did not lie, of course, in oppressive regulations which might be set aside or lightened; the crux of the matter lay in the *naχarar* system, to which the Imperial provisions proved destructive. We know that the monuments of Ancient Armenian literature which have reached us say absolutely nothing about *naχarars* in Western or Imperial Armenia. Even the particular historian of the *naχarar* clans, Movsēs Χorenaçi, has little to say about the princely houses of this part of Armenia. In view of the unusual interest of this historian in all that has to do with the *naχarar* families, and their origins, which form the main focus of his work, such a silence seems incomprehensible. It can be explained only by the fact that at the time when he wrote his *History of Armenia* the *naχarar* houses of Imperial Armenia had lost their actual significance, and at best, had been transformed into an aristocracy of office whose leading representatives were probably absorbed for the most part into the Imperial bureaucracy.

Strictly speaking, the question of the duration of a particular provision is not particularly important for the evaluation of Justinian's re-organization of Armenia. Single measures, which might be maintained or superseded, are not important. What mattered here was the general principle of transformation which could not subsequently be altered. There are ideas which are like seeds fallen on fertile soil in their capacity for development; once brought to life, they need no further outside help but live and grow from their own inner strength. The avowed aims of the Imperial power were based on the breaking up and destruction of those conditions which furthered the isolation of Armenian society, its national exclusiveness, and on the inclusion of the country into the sphere of common Imperial interests. If this were achieved, it was believed that the defense of the eastern provinces against the threats of the Persian monarchy would be ensured.

The movement of Armenians toward the center of the Empire was furthered by this policy. Not only single individuals but entire groups were often driven beyond the borders of their native land by general political misfortunes as well as frequent quarrels over ecclesiastical, political, or other differences within the country. All such groups found a solution to their problems in migration to the West, and sought their fortune in the general life of the Empire. Nor did the Empire, draw to itself only outcasts and renegades. The Byzantine

capital, as the focus of international life and culture, attracted other forces as well, and a new sphere of activity enticed those who under other circumstances might have stayed at home in their native land

The increasing attraction of Armenia toward Byzantium starting from the period of Justinian, had both positive and negative results. One of the favourable results was the national renaissance in the lands of Lesser Armenia. Lesser Armenia, which had separated from Greater Armenia at an early stage, was progressing along a path of development that threatened the total destruction of its national life. To be sure, the Armenian element was still strong there in the fifth century [a]. It is sufficient to remember in this connexion the significant answer of the bishops of Armenia II to the encyclical of the Emperor Leo I in 452. These ecclesiastical dignitaries assure the Emperor of their attachment to Orthodoxy but complain that they are unable to express their thoughts in suitable form because they

> ... live on the edge of the world far from the imperial city and have tongues unsuited to debates.

The prelates then go on to complain,

> ... we live among Armenian foreigners. Although they are orthodox they do not use the Roman tongue correctly. We are separated from them (the Armenians) by some little distance and most of all by the course of the Euphrates, and on account of continuous intermingling with foreigners we do not know the language well enough for long discourses [1].

These same words might be repeated, and with greater cause by the bishops of Armenia I. The Trans-Euphratine Armenians were hardly to blame for the fact that the clergy of even Armenia I and II spoke little Latin. The reference is primarily to the influence of those Armenians among whom the bishops themselves were living, *i.e.* the population of Armenias I and II. They are the ones of whom the bishops complain. In both these provinces the core of the population consisted of Armenians who still spoke their native language in the mid-fifth century.

Confessional problems, which reached such a pitch with the passage of time that they could stifle national interests, presented a serious danger for the concept and feeling of nationality. Confessional differences dictated the choice and use of a language, not only for

the liturgy, but also for the literature, which was permeated with religious spirit. Consequently, the Armenians who adhered to the Imperial Church proved incapable of creating a national written language within the confines of Lesser Armenia. In the absence of a national literature and national education, the fate of a language and *eo ipso* of a nationality becomes unsure and insecure. Armenian culture would undoubtedly have died out in Lesser Armenia which was caught in the whirlpool of the general life and interests of the Empire, had not a flood of new strength from the neighbouring parts of Armenia refreshed it with a new spirit, and re-awakened its national consciousness.

The preservation of the name Armenia for the lands of Lesser Armenia and its extention to the neighbouring territories at the time of Justinian's provincial reforms, proves that the process of rebirth had begun even earlier. It might have seemed more natural to extend the name of Cappadocia, especially since some of the regions incorporated into the Armenian territory at this time had formerly belonged to Cappadocia, but, in fact, we see Justinian extending the territory of Lesser Armenia at the expense of the neighbouring lands, and considering them to be as Armenian as the Imperial portion of Greater Armenia — a fact which can be explained only by a growing pressure of Armenian population westward, toward the center of the Empire. The clain found in Movsēs *X*orenaçi, that the Armenian possessions had been extended through conquests to the land of Pontus and to Mazaka-Caesarea, and that Armenian was spoken throughout this territory, seems to reflect the situation in the period of Justinian rather than that of the distant days of Aram, which the history is purportedly describing. This is clear from the fact that *X*orenaçi recalls the division of the Armenian territory into Armenia I, II, III, and IV, in connexion with this conquest, though he stubbornly continues to associate it with the legendary period of Aram, refusing to believe the rumours current in Imperial Armenia as to the real origin of these divisions [1a].

In their continuous advance, the Armenians now poured still further in two directions beyond their frontiers into the adjoining lands: the movement first turned westward from Greater Armenia, with a northward deflection to the sea. The Armenian element grew so strong here in a brief period of time, that in the next period, *i.e.* at the beginning of the eight century, one of the large districts of the

new provincial organization was called Armenian. We are referring here to the Theme of Armeniakon, the district stretching from Caesarea of Cappadocia to the Black Sea, including all the territories from Sinope to the Phasis and the Euphrates, but excluding Armenia III, which had by that time been conquered by the Arabs. All of this vast region, equal in size to the territories of the former provinces of Cappadocia, Armenia I and II, and Pontus, received the name τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων. "from the name of the Armenians living there and in the neighbourhood", according to the authoritative testimony of the Emperor himself [2]. The movement of Armenians also took place in the direction of Armenia III, *i.e.* from Melitenē toward Cilicia, once again toward an outlet to the sea, thus creating the ethnic substratum out of which eventually sprang the independent political entity under the rule of one of the branches of the Armenian Bagratids, which was to be known as the Rubenian dynasty after its founder Prince Ruben [2a].

The westward migration of the Armenians was very desirable from the Imperial point of view. The proof of this is that the Emperors encouraged the movement, and sometimes personally brought emigrants from the Armenian lands to settle in other parts of the Empire. The project of the Emperor Maurice is particularly well known in this connexion [3]. The Armenian infiltration of Byzantine territory proved exceedingly beneficial for it and brought innumerable advantages to the Empire. The Armenians who threw in their lot with that of the Empire dedicated themselves to its interests with exceptional devotion, and their gifts, emerging from the narrow confines of political life in their native land, displayed themselves in all their strength and diversity. Armenians distinguished themselves in many spheres of Imperial life; they produced outstanding men who rendered important services to Byzantium in military as well as civilian careers. Many of them sat on the throne itself, and on several occasions laid the foundations for entire dynasties. The Armenian cavalry fought in distant parts of the Empire for the glory and success of its military undertakings.

The Armenians also played a fairly important part in the cultural and spiritual life of the Empire. The Iconoclastic movement, so significant for the history of Byzantium, was born on the eastern border of the Empire, and owed an important part of its development to Armenian support and protection. Iconoclasm, which up to now

has primarily been a subject for theological studies, has not been valued sufficiently from a cultural point of view. As a new formulation, an attempt to bring a certain rationalism into the world of religious mysticism, Iconoclasm was destined to play the same part in the Byzantine culture as the Reformation was to play in the modern history of the West. It contained the seeds of the teachings which, after further development, were to destroy the outgrown dogmatic traditions overlaid on the Christian faith and on the life of the faithful. Realizing the danger threatening primarily the interests of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the spiritual and secular powers which derived from theocracy, brought to bear all possible means in order to root out this evil in the initial stage of its development. The role of the Armenians in all of these intellectual currents was by no means the least important; they unquestionably brought to them a specific and very sharp relief [3a].

How did the migration of the Armenians affect the fate of Armenia? The scattering of Armenians throughout the Empire cannot, obviously, be considered a positive manifestation from the point of view of the interests of the homeland. Emigration is normal and harmless for a country when it is brought about by a density of population or its natural growth. But what the Empire drained from Armenia was not an excess of population, on the contrary, they were the elements which were most needed by the country, the ones which were most enterprising and active, the men endowed with qualities which enabled them to keep afloat in the turbulent sea of Imperial life. The flower of Armenian aristocracy, all the *naχarar* families from the portion of Armenia involved, were gradually drawn to the capital to add lustre to the ranks of Imperial officials [3b].

Even the Armenians who left their native land realized the pointlessness of wasting their energies in the service of foreign interests, while their native land languished under the oppression of the very power for whose sake they were pouring out their blood on the battle field. In this connexion, the case of an Armenian official from the capital becomes very significant. In 548, the Armenians of Constantinople entered into a conspiracy against the Emperor Justinian, under the leadership of Arsaces and Artabanes, both of whom were from the royal Arsacid house. At that time, Artabanes was enjoying a brilliant reputation, thanks to his military exploits in Libya where he had killed the tyrant Gontharis. The conspiracy was instigated by

Arsaces, who persuaded his kinsman Artabanes to take a hand in the matter. Procopius, a contemporary, relates that Arsaces rebuked Artabanes, saying that,

> ... he [Artabanes] had on the one hand given proof of his nobility of spirit in his attitude toward the misfortune of others in that he had put an end to the tyranny; indeed though Gontharis was his friend and his host, he had slain him under no compulsion whatever. But at the present juncture, he said, he was utterly cowed, and he continued to sit there without a spark of manhood, though his fatherland was kept under strictest guard and exhausted by unwonted taxes, his father had been slain on the pretext of a treaty and covenant, and his whole family had been enslaved and was kept scattered to every corner of the Roman empire [4].

The bitter words on the state of Armenia which the historian puts into the mouth of an Armenian from the capital and a descendant of the Arsacids, sound painfully true and give a picture of the position of Armenia after the re-organization of Justinian. Even at a later date, the Imperial authorities persisted in a policy which proved fatal for Armenia. We possess a valuable testimony that one of Justinian's immediate successors [Maurice] sent to the Persian king [Xusrō II] a letter of accusation directed against the Armenian *naχarars* and their armies. The Emperor wrote as follows,

> The Armenians are a disloyal and disobedient nation, they stand between us and create dissentions. Let us make an agreement, I will gather up mine and send them to Thrace, let you gather up yours and order them sent to the East. If they should perish there, then enemies will have perished and if they should kill others, it is our enemies that they will kill, and we shall live in peace, for, as long as they shall remain in their country we shall have no rest [4a].

This cynical proposition from a Christian ruler illustrates admirably the fundamentally malignant and monstrous policy of the Byzantine court, from which Armenia suffered, and for which the Empire itself was eventually to pay a heavy price. By driving the Armenians from their native land and draining away the upper strata of the Armenian population, the Empire deprived the country of a sound framework. The consequences manifested themselves all too clearly during the period of Arab domination. Native kingdoms were

successfully established, after a brief struggle, in the former Persian districts of Armenia which had become Arab: in Ayrarat, in Vaspurakan, in Tarōn and in Siwnik', but the Roman districts proved unfit for political responsibilities. The military strength of the country had been broken with the weakening of the *naχarars* while in the realm of political liberty, the *naχarar* traditions had likewise been destroyed.

In view of the close contact between Armenia and the Empire, it is natural that Imperial life and culture should in their turn have exercised a powerful influence on Armenian spiritual life. After the period of Justinian, careful observation reveals the gradual appearance of a new current sharply divergent from the literary traditions of the preceding epoch. With the spread of Christianity to Armenia, the religious life of the country, and the literature created by it, had developed primarily in accordance with the general tastes and traditions of Syrian Christianity, but after a time, a clear break becomes visible in literary works, primarily in the field of language. To be sure, linguistic evidence is not entirely reliable, theories and interpretations derived from it are not always safe, but in this case we are dealing with objective linguistic material, specifically with the lexical aspect of the language, which is independent of its other stylistic characteristics. There are certain words and word formations which are, so to speak, entirely foreign to the works of first period of Armenian Christian literature, such as the translation of the Holy Scriptures, *exceptis excipiendis*, the works of Faustus of Byzantium, of Łazar P'arpeçi, and of others. The presence of such words serves as proof that a given document belongs to a slightly later period, when the so-called Imperial or Hellenizing school was flourishing [5]. These elements came into the language through philosophical and generally speculative literature. One of the immediate results of the closer contact with imperial life was friction over religious questions. Dogmatic debates and dissentions became widespread. It became indispensable both for the followers of the official Imperial theology and for the adherents to the traditions of the national Church to exercise themselves in the realm of speculation and abstract thought in order to understand and be able to expound extremely complicated and subtle problems of christology. For this and other reasons, a new trend manifested itself, and a literature filled with scholarly or theoretical spirit arose, and with the widening of intellectual horizons, the language was enriched by a new layer of scientific terms.

This tendency began in the period of Justinian and was closely connected with his reform, so that we are justified in seeing the second half of the sixth century as a new epoch in the intellectual life of Armenia. The importance of the Hellenizing school in the history of Armenian literature may be judged from the fact that it produced among others the philosophical treatises of David the Invincible, the works of the famous mathematician Anania Širakaçi, and finally the first complete and critical *History of Armenia*, that of Movsēs Xorenaçi, a truly outstanding monument, one in many ways unequalled in Armenian literature, and one remarkable above all for the profound national ideology which it created and by which generations were to be educated for centuries to come.

The influence of Imperial culture on Armenian life, on one hand, and the migration of Armenians into the Empire, on the other, led to the same result from opposite sides, namely to a certain cultural homogeneity. If we consider the matter exclusively from the point of view of the growing Imperial structure, we cannot deny that the of ethnic variations and their transmutation into a single cultural unit had a favourable effect on the political future and the entire fate of the Byzantine Empire. From the time of the division of the Roman Empire into two halves, life in each of them had necessarily developed in different directions. The division of the Empire in itself indicated the existence of a certain disagreement in the cultural climate of its two halves. The Western Empire was Romanized, while the Eastern one followed, so to speak, along a path of Orientalization. In the West, the main factors proved to be the new ethnic groups, while in the East, small historical nations competed vigourously with each other for the first place in politics.

Justinian's policy toward the Armenians, insofar as it pursued the aims dictated by a natural tendency to incorporate them and all other nations into one Empire, was justified by the internal trends of imperial history, but unfortunately, traditional concept of an interrelation between the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire made it impossible for this unification to benefit the Eastern Empire alone. Disregarding the fact that the breach between the two parts of the Empire widened constantly as a result of existing political and social conditions, and dedicating himself to an ideal of conquest, the Emperor Justinian sought to reunite the lost territories once again and to reestablish the former unity of the state. As a result, he sacrified to

this ideal, enormous material and spiritual resources which were not used for the needs and benefits of the Eastern Empire, but were shifted to the Western half for its protection against the onslaught of barbarian tribes. Together with others, Armenians, Syrian, and Georgian regiments under their own generals fought in Africa, in Italy, and in other parts of the Empire to defend a cause totally divorced from their interests, not only as the representatives of foreign nations but even as citizens of the Eastern Empire.

A great deal of vital strength was poured into the Empire from the East. History displays before us a whole gallery of gifted statesmen who dedicated their lives with remarkable loyalty and energy to the welfare of the Empire, and not a few of them belong to the period of Justinian [6]. It should be enough to single out the outstanding figure of Narses, one of the pillars of Justinian's reign, a man who had made a name for himself in a civilian career, who then in critical moment displayed an exceptional military talent, and whose victories even overshadowed the glory of Belisarius, the military genius of the times. The majestic figure of Narses in the forefront of Byzantium is an exact foreshadowing of the future, since it appears as the embodiement of the spiritual and material wealth, as well as of the strength which flowed continuously from the Eastern provinces toward the center of the Empire during the whole of its existence.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

All the notes have been numbered consecutively by chapter, since the pagination of the original text could not be maintained. The figures in parentheses indicate the page and number of the note in the Russian text. Notes marked with a letter were added in the present edition and square brackets indicate all additions or alterations inserted by the editor. Wherever such additions are drawn from another note, or a note has been divided for the sake of greater clarity, the original note has been identified at the end of the new reference. In numerous cases sources have been quoted in editions different from the ones used in the original, either because better editions were now available, or because those used by Adontz proved unobtainable; both editions are given under the relevant entries in the Bibliographical section. Russian and Armenian titles have been given in the notes in English abbreviation, for the sake of convenience, for the complete reference, *see* the Bibliography.

* * *

a [The publication of this study preceded the appearance of extensive work on the pre-Christian period of Armenian history, for which *see* the Bibliographical Note. Adontz, himself, also concerned himself with this epoch in his *Histoire d'Arménie. Les origines du Xe au VIe siècle Av. J.C.*, posthumously published, Paris, 1946.]

1 We regret that through circumstances beyond our control, the map prepared by us could not be published in this volume. [Unfortunately, this map never appeared subsequently, to my knowledge]. (xi, 1)

1a [Adontz's proposed periodization has been subject to considerable criticism. Vasiliev, in his review of this book, *ZMNP*, p. 415, objected to Adontz's view that the Justinianic age formed the watershed between antiquity and the Byzantine era. Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 42-43, and *Feudalism*, pp. 10, 250-260, 304-306, rejected the thesis that the disintegration of Armenian tribal society had taken place in the Artaxiad period of Armenian history and was complete by the reign of Tigran the Great. Moreover, he argued that the *naχarar* system characteristic of Mediaeval Armenia had not disappeared altogether with the Mongol invasions, which Adontz sets here as the *terminus ad quem*. For a review of the literature on the periodization of Armenian history including the Marxist interpretation, *see* Sukiasian, *Armenia*, pp. 15-27, and for a recent critique of Adontz, as well as an appreciation of his contribution, Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 70 n. 76, 108, 111 n. 176, 144 n. 262].

1b [Adontz gives no reference for this quotation which I have regretfully been unable to trace.]

CHAPTER I

[a] The entire geographical information of Adontz's work, both in this and subsequent chapters should be checked against the more recent studies indicated in the Bibliographical Note. *See also* Appendix V, in which an attempt has been made to list the various names of a given ancient site together with its modern (definitive or hypothetical) equivalents. Some additional material will be found in the relevant notes, but the disagreement of scholars on a number of points precludes the possibility of a systematic or exhaustive discussion which would expand this work to unmanageable size. (2, 1)

[1] This city should not be confused with its namesake, Ganjak-Elizavetpol' [Kirovabad] in the province of Otenē. Ganjak of Atropatenē [Ganjak Šahastan] lay considerably south of Tabriz. Modern scholars identify it with Takht-i-Sulaimān near Zanjān. [*Cf. Christensen*, pp. 142 n. 1, 165, and 166 n. 3. Frye, *Persia*, p. 139 and n. 23, and pls. 4-5; also Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Irān*, London, 1940, p. 341; and Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 223-224. The recent study of the site is by H. van der Osten and R. Nauman, *Takht-i-Suleiman. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen*, Berlin, 1961]. *Cf.* Ch. IX, n.28. The problem of the frontiers of Armenia will be discussed subsequently.

[1a] [On the frontier of 363, *see* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, ch. i. On the partition of 387, *see* Grousset, *Arménie*, pp. 163-166; Jones, *LRE*, I, p. 158; Stein, *Bas Empire*, II, p. 528 n. *89; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 350-352 and p. 352 n. 6. On the partition of 591, *see* Grousset, *Arménie*, pp. 251-253; Jones, *LRE*, I, p. 311; M. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice*, Washington, 1939, p. 73, and particularly, P. Goubert, *Orient*, pp. 189-190 and Appendix 10; Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 236 sqq.]

[1b] [This is a particularly good example of Adontz's gift for identifying the crucial aspect of a problem. The religious divisions of Armenia had already been observed by such scholars as E. Ter Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, but the subdivisions suggested by Adontz are much more complicated and essential, as I hope to demonstrate in my own forthcoming study on Armenia in the Fourth Century.]

[2] Procopius, *Pers.*, I, x, 13-19 [L. 80/1-82/3]. Kiepert, *Karte.* (4, 1)

[3] Procopius, *Aed.*, II, i, 4 sqq. [L. 98/9 sqq.]. Procopius gives the position of Dara as follows, "*ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Περσικῶν ὅρων ... Δάρας*". According to *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 46, the Persian frontier lay six miles from Dara, " *ἀπὸ ϛ̄ μιλίων αὐτῆς πόλεως (Δάρας), εἰσι τὰ μεθόρια καὶ οἱ ὅροι Περσίδος καὶ Συρίας.* ". The Roman mile was equivalent to 6 *stadia*, consequently 6 miles would be equal to 42 *stadia*, but Procopius *Pers.* I, x, 14. [L. 80/1] gives the distance from Dara to the frontier as 28 *stadia.* It is unlikely that the passage in *Georg. Cypr.* refers to a different period, and more probable that Procopius' *stadion* was longer than the customary 210 meters. The distance from Dara to Nisibis is 30 kilometers as the crow flies, yet Procopius [*Idem*] gives it as 98 *stadia.* [On Dara, *see* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 10 and n. 5, et sqq. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1957), "Measures ", p. 547, gives the following definitions of the *stadion*: the Greek *stadion*, " contained 600 feet, no matter what the length of the foot might be, and its exact length is therefore often doubtful ". The Roman *stadium* = 125 paces, where 1 pace = 5 *pedes* of 296 mm each. *Webster's New World Dictionary*, College edition (1966), p. 1620, defines the *verst* as " c. 3000 feet or about 2/3 mile "]. (4, 2)

[4] Procopius, *Aed.*, III, ii, 2-3 [L. VII, 186/7].

" ... *ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ πόλις ἐστί που Μαρτυρόπολις ὄνομα παρ' αὐτὸν ποταμὸν Νύμφιον κειμένη καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἀγχοτάτω πρόσοικος οὖσα, ἐπεὶ ὁ Νύμφιος ποταμὸς διορίζει ἐνταῦθα τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ἤθη. ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀρξανηνὴ ἡ χώρα οἰκεῖται Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα* ".

Joh. Eph., *HE*, VI, 15, p. 236, is also familiar with *Arzanenē* as a wealthy Persian province; also Joh. Eph., *de beatis*, p. 191, " Arzanenē Persarum ". [*Cf.* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 22-24, 32-34]. (5, 1)

5 Procopius, *Pers.* I, xxi, 6 [L. I, 195/6-197/8], and I, viii, 22 [L. I, 66/7-68/9],

" [*Μαρτυρόπολις*] ... *αὕτη δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ, πόλεως Ἀμίδης τεσσαράκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις διέχουσα πρὸς Βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστιν, ὃς τήν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει ... ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων* ". (5, 2)

6 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, ii, 4 [L. VII, 186/7-188/9]; *Vand.* I, i, 17; [L. II, 8/9]. (5, 3)

7 Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xxi, 9 [L. I, 196/7], " ... *χωρίον* ... *Ἀτταχᾶς* ... ". *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 47, " *κάστρον Ἀτταχᾶς* ". *Asołik*, III, xxxvi, p. 264, includes " *խարխալեալ Ճապաղջուր բերդին, Դկլաթայ, Աթթախայ եւ Անթայ* " among the localities damaged by earthquake. [*Vide infra* note 11]. (5, 4)

8 Arab writers derive the epithet قرا = " black " to the black stones from which the city was built. *See* Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 108. The city owes its present name to a certain Bekr, who was governor of the province. The name ديار بكر = " the province of Bekr " and the name of the province has been transferred to the city which was its capital. [*Cf.* Le Strange, " notes " to *Ibn-Serapion*, p. 34, for a different explanation of this name]. (6, 1)

8a [The location of *At't'aχ* is not absolutely certain. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 37 and map I identifies it with Hattāh, though no such village can be found in *G 46* or the relevant sheet of the *USAFM*. On the basis of the co-ordinates c. 38°19'N × 40°55'E, At't'aχ might be identified with the modern *Hindis*, *G 46*, p. 289, but there is some variation in the location of the village on the maps of Honigmann, *Idem*, Kiepert, *Karte*, Lynch, *Armenia*, and particularly Chapot, *Frontière*. Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 248 notes, " On the Lija plain, the ruins of *Attakh*, anct. *Attacha* ". *Cf.* also Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 249.]

9 One of the participants of the Council of 726 was " *Աթանաս նփրկետոյ եպիսկոպոս* ". *BL*, p. 224. *Asołik*, III, xvii, p. 193, speaks of " ... *քաղաք* ... *Մարտիրոսաց պոլիս որ է Նփրկերտ* ... ". *Joh. Kat'.*, p. 88 likewise mentions, ... *զչորրորդն կոչեցեալ Հայք ՝յորում մայրաքաղաք մարտիրոսաց պոլիս այսինքն Նփրկերտ*. The " Life of Saint Marut'a ", *Acta*, II, p. 31; *Synaxaries* of Cerenč̣, 28 May; Tēr Israēl, 25 February; says that he had collected up to 280,000 relics: 120,000 from the Roman Empire, 20.000 from Assyria, 80,000 from Persia, and 60,000 from Armenia. These figures are unquestionably exaggerated. The Coptic synaxary derives the name of the city from that of *Marut'a*, Wüstenfeld ed., *Synaxarium das ist Heiligen-Kalender der Coptischen Christen*, Gotha, 1879, p. 312, " die Stadt einen von dem namen des heiligen Marutha abgeleitenen namen erhielt ". [Adontz does not indicate the edition of the synaxaries used by him, although the *Synaxary* of Cerenč̣ was published in 1706 and 1730, both times in Constantinople. The edition of the *Synaxary* of Tēr Israēl used by Adontz must have been that of Constantinople, 1834, but a more recent edition with a translation has been brought out in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, G. Bayan ed. " Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel ", *Patrologia Orientalis*, V-XII (1910-1930). In

this edition, the *Life of Marut'a* is given at the date 25 Mareri = 1 June, *Ibid.*, XXI (1928
this edition, the *Life of Marut'a* is given at the date 25 Mareri = 1 June, *Ibid.*, XXI (1928), pp. 515-518. *See also*, *Ibid.*, V (1910), " Avertissement ", pp. 350-352 for the earlier history of the text. An English translation of the *Life* has been given by R. Marcus, " The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat ", *Harvard Theological Review*, XXV, 1 (January, 1932), pp. 47-71. The passage referring to the collection of relics occurs in this translation on p. 68. *Cf.* Manandian, *Trade*, 61-62]. (6, 2)

[10] *AL*, p. 125, " *Մուհարկին* ". *Asołik*, p. 193 " *Մուֆարղին* ". [No such form can be found on the page indicated. This edition of Asołik invariably gives the form " *Նփրկերտ* ". The form given by Adontz does however, occur in *Kir. Ganj.*, lxi, p. 385 " *քաղաքն Մարտիրոսաց, որ կոչի Մուֆարղին*"]. If it is not merely an error for *Նփր[կ]երտ*, the form *Նփռետ* found in the *Arm. Geogr.*, 30/41, should be compared with the Syr. *mēfarakt* < **mēfaratt*. The Arabs evidently altered *maifarkat* into *miyya-farkin* because they saw the word مياه (the plur. of ماء " water ") in the name, on the same basis as Meiacarire, a small locality on the right bank of the Tigris near Mardin, which took its name from the cold springs : *Amm. Marc.*, XVIII, vi, 16 [L. I, 442/3], " Meiacarire nomine venissemus, cui fontes dedere vocabulum gelidi ", *Tab. Peut.*, [IX, p. 741 and 740 map 240] the name is translated as " Aquae Frigidae ". Near the city are found the springs of the حوض عين the *Jehan-numa*, Charmoy, I, supp. 1, p. 143; these form a spring which flows through the city toward the Batmansuyu. The presence of these " waters " may have influenced the etymology just given. If the hypothesis of C.F. Lehmann-Haupt and W. Belck, " Majafarkin und Tigranokerta ", *ZE*, XXXI (1899), pp. 263-275, that ancient Tigranokerta was located on the site of Maipherkat-Martyropolis is correct, the Batmansuyu must correspond to the ancient Nymphios on which the city of Tigranokerta was located. *Cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, iv [L. IV, 220/221]. [These identifications are no longer challenged, *see* Lehman-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, pp. 381-429, 501-523; Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 86-202; and Manandian, *Trade*, 60-62]. There is perhaps a link between *Nicephor-ius*, Arm. " *Նըփըր* " and Syr. *maifar* < **nakfar*. Markwart, *Ērān*. 161-162 derives *Nikephorios* from Iran. **Nēwak-farr* = *'Αγαθότυχος*, but his equation of the last syllable with the Arm. *փոր* " cleft ", is less fortunate. (7, 1)

[11] *Menand. Prot.*, p. 393, " *διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου 'Αῤῥεστῶν κλίματος καὶ τοῦ Μαρεπτικῶν ἀφίκετο ἐν Περσαρμενίᾳ* ". (7, 2)

[12] A. Saint-Martin, ed. in, Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, nouvelle édition entièrement revue, corrigée et augmentée par M. de Saint-Martin et continuée par M. Brosset, 21 vols., Paris, 1824-1836, X, p. 132. (7, 3)

[12a] [*Cf.* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 21 nn. 3-4, who cites Adontz without, however, expressing an opinion.]

[13] *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/41, 37-38/50, « [*գաւառս տասն*] *զՆփռետ, զԱղձն, ընդ որոց մէջն իջանէ գետն Քաղիրթ, զոր Շիթմա կոչեն Տաճիկք, այսինքն՝ արիւնարբու. ... Քաղիրթ, որ բղխէ ի լերանց Սալնայ եւ Սանասնոյ, եւ իջեալ կորէ յիրերաց զՆփրկերտ եւ զՔղիմար, որով բաժանեցան Հոռոմք եւ Պարսիկք, եւ կոչի այժմ Շիթիթմա, որ է արիւնարբու* : ». (8, 1)

[14] Joh. Eph., *HE*, VI, xxxvi, p. 258. " de castello alio cui nomen Āqbā, quod in terra Persarum ad Kallath est. — In ripa vero ulteriore Kallath fluvii in tractu limitis contra Maipherqaṭ mons praeruptus *est*, super quo quasi a temporibus longinquis populo delendo magorum castellum aedificare in animo erat, et, quandoquidem inter Romanos

et Persas pactio est ne intra tot milia passum a limite vel his vel illis aedificare liceat, Romani contra eos stabant nec eos aedificare sinebant; etenim saepe aedificatum erat et disiectum. Aliquando autem, ut supra indicavimus, Persae, opportunitatem nacti, castellum aedificaverunt et in eo consederunt ". [*Cf. Jos. Styl.*, lxvii, p. lviii]. (8, 2)

15 *Evagr.* VI, xv, p. 233, " ...*τὸ Ὄκβας ὀχυρώτατον φρούριον, ἀντικρὺ Μαρτυροπόλεως ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὄχθην διακείμενον ἐπί τινος σκοπέλου ἀποτόμου, ὅθεν καὶ ἄποπτος ἡ πᾶσα καθειστήκει πόλις* ". (8, 3)

16 *Theoph. Sim.*, I, xii, p. 62, " ... *ἧκε πλησίον τοῦ Νυμφίου καὶ τὸ Ἄκβας ἐνεχείρει αἱρήσειν* ". (9, 1)

16a [On Akbas-Okbas, *see* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 24-25, 27, 32, and Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 480 n. 2. *Cuinet*, II, p. 520 map, indicates " Chirvan-kala, north-east of Siirt ", but no trace of the ruins can be found on modern, or for that matter on most maps. *Cf.* Kiepert, *Karte*, and Lynch, *Armenia*, map].]

17 *Theoph. Sim.*, II, ix, p. 86; III, xv, p. 143, " ... *τὸ Ἀφούμον, ... καλούμενον φρούριον* ", *Menand. Prot.*, pp. 410, 415, " *Ἀφουμῶν φρούριον* ", *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 47, " *Κάστρον Ἀφουμῶν* ". On Chlomarōn: *Theoph. Sim.*, II, vii-viii, pp. 82-86, " *Χλωμαρῶν* ". *Men. Prot.*, p. 329, " *Χλομάρων* ". Joh. Eph., *HE* VI, xxxiv, p. 257, " ... castella ibi ... unum cui nomen Pum ... aliud quoque Persarum ... cui nomen Klimar ". Klimar is the Armenian *Քղիմար*, which is also known as Kutemŕan in the *Arm. Georg.*, pp. 37/50, " ··· *զԱղձնիս Հայոց, որ է Արձն, յորում քաղաք Կուտեմռան, որ է Քղիմար, եւ Քիշ եւ Ծուկառաքա* ". Might Kutemŕan be a distorted form of *Χλωμαρῶν* = *Քղիմար*? Markwart, *Erān.*, 158-160, identifies Afumōn and Chlomarōn with the *Ub-bu-me* and *Kul-li-im-me-ri* of Assyrian inscriptions. K'iš, which Markwart considers unidentifiable, *Ibid.*, p. 160, is the episcopal city of Qīš which sent a representative to the Council of 544, Chabot, *Syn. Or.*, pp. 322-323. Chabot sought this city in Chorzanē, *Ibid.*, p. 680, whereas it actually stood in Arzanenē and is probably to be identified with present-day Kuš, near the town of Zok. [K'iš is identified by Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 89 and map, with modern Bamau-kuš, but no locality of this name can be found on modern maps. For the problem of the location of Chlomarōn, *see* n. 18a]. (9,2)

17a [Fūm is no longer given in *G 46* or on the relevant sheet of the *USAFM*. *Cf.*, however, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 23-34, 37, and map I, also Kiepert, *Karte*, C VI, " Diarbekir ", c. $38^{0}27'$N $\times$ $40^{0}42'$E, and *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 167, and map IV.]

18 *Theoph. Sim.*, II, ix, pp. 86-88. (9, 3)

18a [The position of Chlomarōn near Nerjiki suggested by Adontz does not agree with the one given by Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 23, 26, 31-33, 37 and map I, or by Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 89 and map. Nerjiki is no longer indicated in *G 46* or in the *USAFM*, but it is recorded by *Cuinet*, II, p. 520 map, as being in the kaza of Kulp of the vilayet of Bitlis; *see also*, Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenian*, II, 1, p. 432 and map, and Kiepert, *Karte*, C VI, c. $38^{0}32'$N $\times$ $41^{0}03'$E, on the Kulp-su. If Chlomarōn were situated in this vicinity, it would lie considerably north of the position given by Honigmann and Eremyan. The latter describes K'łimar as being, " *այժմյան Մալիգիր գյուղի մոտ*" *Ibid.*, p. 89. Maligir-Malagir is located at $38^{0}05'$N $\times$ $41^{0}13'$E in *G 46*, p. 455. *See also*, *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 167, and Markwart, *Erān.*, pp. 158-159, and *Südarmenien*, p. *14.]

19 *See* Hoffman's notes to *Georg. Cypr.*, pp. 165-167 [*Also* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 7, 16-18, 24-26, 34]. It is possible that *Νικηφόριος - Νύμφιος*, and Kala θ-Ši θi θma originally designated different courses of the same river. As the first form of the name

has been linked with Maipher-kat, so Kala θ may perhaps be linked with *Καρκαθ-ιο-κερτα* by means of *karra θ*. The Šit'it'ma is also mentioned by *Ibn Serapion*, pp. 18, 264-265, in the form [Sātīdamād] ساتيدماد instead of ساتيدماء. According to Markwart, *Erān.*, p. 161, this form points to an Aramaic rather than an Arabic origin, and likewise has the sense of " bloodthirsty " (< *šadi u dema*). In Markwart's opinion, the name might be explained by the fact that the river's banks had been the scene of many bloody battles. [*Cf.* also Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 274-284]. (10, 1)

19a [*Cf.* Goubert, *Orient*, p. 76.]

20 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iii, 1-4 [L. VII, 190/1-192/3],

" *Ἐκ δὲ Μαρτυροπόλεως ἐς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον ἰόντι χωσίον ἐστὶ Φεισὼν ὄνομα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ κείμενον τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ, Μαρτυροπόλεως δὲ ὀλίγον ἔλασσον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας διέχον. τούτου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπέκεινα, ὅσον ἐκ σημείων ὀκτὼ μάλιστα, ὄρη ἀπότομα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα ξυνιόντα ἐς ἄλληλα στενωποὺς ἀπεργάζονται δύο, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλοιν ὄντας οὕσπερ νενομίκασι Κλεισούρας καλεῖν. τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Περσαρμενίας ἐπὶ Σοφανηνὴν πορευομένους, εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων εἴτε διὰ τοῦ Κιθαρίζων φρουρίου ἴοιεν, ἀμήχανά ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τούτων δὴ τῶν δύο στενωπῶν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ἰλλυρισὸν μὲν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον Σαφχάς* ".

Pers., II, xxiv, 15 [L. I, 478/9],] " ... *πρὸς τῷ Φισῶν καλουμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Μαρτυροπόλεως ὁρίων ἐστίν* ". (11, 1)

21 Taylor, *Kurdistan*, p. 39, " ... a mass of ruins that covered the slopes of the hill for the space of one mile, fragments of thick walls and neatly cut blocks of stone were strewed over the road and impeded our progress, the remains of the old city of Fees. A small village near them is also called Fees, Affis and Afisios ". [*Cf.* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 18-19; Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 248]. *Asolik*, III, xv, p. 193 mentions a locality near Martyropolis, " ··· *ի տեղին, որ Փշփաշն կոչի.* ". *Փշփաշ* may be a mistake: *Փիշ փաշ* for *Փիշ*. (11, 2)

21a [*Theoph. Sim.*, II, ix, 17, p. 88, " ... *τὸ μὲν προσαγορεύεται Φαθαχών, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ἀλαλεισός*, ... ". *See also*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 22 n. 3, 25-26.]

22 Vardan, *Geography*, as cited in Inčičean, *Description*, p. 44 [*Cf.* Berbérian edition, pp. 18-19, 39], " ... *Տիգրիս որ Դկլաթ կոչի ելանէ ի Չորրորդ Հայոց ի Հաշտէն գաւառէ, եւ ի Գեղջէ Ոլրայ···* ". Also Grigor Xlat'eçi, *MS* No. 167 in Dashian, *Catalogue*. See, *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/40, " *դՀաշտեանս, յորմէ բղխեն աղբիւրք Տիգրիս գետոյ* ". *Cf.* Nöldeke, " Alexanderroman ", *Denkschrift der Wiener Akademie*, XXXVIII (1890), p. 28, " Haloras, wo der Tigris entspringt ". According to Al-Kisrawī, W. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, p. 23 Holûris هلورس was on the upper-Tigris. According to Yāḳūt, Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 110-111, " The source of the Tigris, ... was distant two and a half days' journey from Āmid, at a place known as Halûras, 'where 'Alî, the Armenian, obtained martyrdom' ", Might this name be derived from the Arm. *olor*, vulg. *h-olor*, *ոլորիս* from *ոլորիք*, " zig-zags " ? [*Cf.* Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. *12, 58-59, 74, 232 sqq., 264, 269, 437. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 58. (11, 3)

22a [Although the Cevtla-Çotela mountains are still indicated in *G* 46 and the relevant sheet of the USAFM, the Darkosh shown by both Lynch Map and Kiepert *Karte* C-VI, have vanished from modern nomenclature].

22b [Timur agha is given by Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 247, but it is not found on modern maps.]

[23] *See* Taylor, *Kurdistan*, p. 42 and Wilson, *Handbook*, pp. 247-248. [*Also* Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, " Der Tigris-Tunnel ", I, pp. 430-462, and Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 58 sqq. and 74]. The Kleisurai were familiar to *MX*, II, viii, " ··· *զլեառն Տաւրոս, ուր եւ Սիմ եւ զԿղեսուրն ամենայն* ". In the description of the earthquake results given by Asołik, III, xxxvi, pp. 263-264, " ··· *շարժեցաւ երկիր, բայց սաստկագոյն աշխարհն Չորրորդ Հայոց, Հաշտեանք, Խորձեան, Ծոփք, Բալու, եւ Պաղնատուն :*

Եւ բոլորովին փլան շինուածք ամենայն,··· եւ բերդն Բալու Հանդերձ շինուածովն եւ քարն եւս փլուզանիւր : Խարխալեալ ճապաղջուր բերդն Դկլաթայ ··· " the word *քար* seems to refer to a particular locality which might perhaps be identified with the Kleisurai. (12, 1)

[24] Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iii, 7-14 [L. VII, 192/3-194-5], " Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κιθαρίζων χωρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ Ἀσθιανίνης τῆς καλουμένης ἐστί, φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὂν ἐν χώρῳ λοφώδει ὑπερφυές τε καὶ δαιμονίως ἄμαχον κατεστήσατο· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ. διαρκὲς ὕδωρ ἐσαγαγὼν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῇδε ᾠκημένοις ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ πεποιημένος, ...

Ἐκ δε Κιθαρίζων ἔς τε Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι Χορζάνη μὲν ἡ χώρα καλεῖται, διήκει δὲ ἐς ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάλιστα οὔτε λίμνης τινὸς ὕδατι οὔτε ποταμοῦ ῥείθρῳ οὔτε ὄρεσι τὴν δίοδον ἐν στενῷ εἴργουσι διοριζομένη τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁρίων αὐταῖς ἀναμὶξ κειμένων. ὥστε οἱ ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοι, Ῥωμαίων ἢ Περσῶν ὄντες κατήκοοι, οὔτε τι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέος ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις πη ἐς ἐπιβουλήν εἰσιν ὕποπτοι ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικηδεύουσι καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συμβάλλονται καὶ τὰ ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπικοινοῦνται. ἢν δέ ποτε οἱ τῶν ἑτέρον ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους στρατῷ ἴωσιν, ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφυλάκτους ἀεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους εὑρίσκουσι. χωρία μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέροις πολυανθρωπότατα ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλων ἐστίν, ἔρυμα δὲ οὐδετέροις πη ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν. παρῆν οὖν ἐνθένδε τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ῥᾳόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν δίοδον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤθη ποιεῖσθαι, ἕως βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διακωλυτὴς αὐτῷ γέγονε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. χωρίον ἦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς χώρας Ἀρταλέσων ὄνομα. τοῦτο τείχει ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριόν τε ἀμαχώτατον ἐξειργάσατο καὶ στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους τῇδε ἱδρύσατο, ... ".

Also Procopius, *Pers.*, II, xxiv, 13, 14 [L. I, 476/7], " ... Κιθαρίζων τὸ φρούριον ... διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο· ... τὰ ἐπὶ Χορζιανηνῆς χωρία ". (13, 1)

[25] *AL*, xxi, p. 117, " ··· *ելին ընդ Խորձեան ի վեր* ··· *եւ եկին մինչեւ ի գլուխ գաւառին ի գիւղն որ կոչի Մոըմրեանս.* [Adontz gives the version *Մորրանս*, which is found in the 1901 Venice edition of Aristakēs Lastivertçi, p. 109]. Inčičean, *Description*, p. 43, gives the variant *Մորմրանս.* This town is to be identified with the modern town of Melomeran, which is given on maps such as Lynch, *Armenia* as Molla Omer or Mulla Omer, [Mollaömer], obviously as the result of a false etymology. [The river equivalent to the Perisuyu is not the Gayl-Lykos-Kelkit, but the " Other " Gayl-Mews Gayl. *Cf.* Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 70 and next note]. (14, 1)

[26] *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/40-41, " ··· *զԽորձայն՝ յելից Հիւսիսոյ, ընդ որ իջանէ միւս Գայլ գետ առ Կողոբերդովն. զՀաշտէնս, յորմէ բղխեն աղբիւրք Տիգրիս գետոյ. իսկ ի մտից Խորձայնոյ՝ է Պաղնատուն գաւառ, Հանդէպ Հոմանուն բերդով. եւ Հանդէպ նորա ի Հարաւ Բալախովիտ գաւառ.* ··· ". Kołoberd (*Կողոբերդ*) means " the fortress of Koł; whence Köł, Keł (gen. Keŀi), now Keli-Kasaba [Kiği-Kasaba] = ancient Kołoberd. The entire district is now called Keŀi [Kiği kazasi] and is identical with ancient Chorzanē. [For Kołoberd and particularly the *Other* Gayl (*միւս Գայլ*) *see*, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 441, 415-416; Markwart, *Süd-*

armenien, pp. 264, 435-437, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 204-205. For the discussion of the districts found in Armenia IV according to the *Arm. Geogr.*, *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 290 sqq., Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 39 sqq., and particularly Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 116 sqq. For Procopius' text describing Chorzanē, *see above*, n. 24]. (14, 2

[26a] [*See above*, nn. 24, 26].

[27] Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 291-293, defines Asthianenē [Hašteank'] by means of the Göniksuyu, and believes that Kitharizōn is to be identified with the modern Köderiç. In such a case, Asthianenē would have occupied the entire border zone, and Chorzanē would consequently become a district in the interior. But Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iii, put the vulnerable border district for whose protection the fortress of Artalesōn was erected into Chorzanē. Moreover, Asthianenē adjoined Chorzanē from the south, according to the description of the *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/40-1. [*See also* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 9, 16]. (15, 1)

[28] *ŁP'*, lxxxi, p. 485, " [*Վահան*] *գնայր սահմանս Հաշտենից, ըստ յառաջ–ադրեալ խորհրդոյն իւրոյ, եւ հասեալ բանակէր ի գաւառին Արշամունեաց, ի գիւղն որ կոչի Երէզ*··· *Ibid.*, p. 481, " *կամեցեալ անցանել ի կողմն սահմանակ-ցութեանն Հաշտենից, յաղագս գտանելոյ ի նոցանէ օգնութիւն* ". (15, 2)

[28a] [*Asołik*, III, xliii, p. 276, " *Եւ անցեալ թագաւորն* [*ընդ Հանձիթ եւ*] *ընդ Բալու՝ ելանէ ի լեառն Կոհերայ*··· [*որ ընդ մէջ Հաշտենից, Ծոփաց եւ Խորձենոյ*] *եւ անդուստ գայ հասանէ ի գաւառն Արշամունեաց ի քաղաքն Երիզայ* ». The passages in square brackets are part of Asołik's text, but were left out of Adontz's quotation thereof.]

[29] *AL*, xviii, p. 106,' ' ··· *որդի Լիպարտին Իւանէ անուն, որում տուեալ էին ի պարգեւի տեղիս բնակութեան զմեծ աւանն Երիզայ ի գաւառին Հաշտենից,* ··· *գնաց եւ խաբանօք չառ զամուրն Եղանց Բերդ կոչեցեալ,* ··· *դատաւորն* ··· *եւ զինքն եդ ի յԵղնուտն ի բանտի* ».

[On Iwanē, son of Liparit, *see* J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seljoucides*, Paris, 1913, *also*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 183, *et. al.*]. (16, 1)

[30] *Joh. Mam.*, ii, p. 25, " ···*ետ տանել յԵղանց բերդն* (var. *յՈղնուբերդն*), *զոր դեռ Եղնուտն* (var. *Ողնուտն*) *կոչեն*." The *Ողկան* mentioned by *ZG*, p. 26 [*cf.* 43, 49] is more likely to be this locality than the famous *Ողական* of Tarōn the fortress of the Mamikonean. It is evident from Zenob's account that *Ողկան* was located near Kowaṙs (now Guvars near Boğlan) behind a spring, which must be the one now known as the " spring of the ten brothers ", north of Kowaṙs. [The position of Kowaṙs is not altogether clear: the maps in both Lynch, *Armenia* and Kiepert, *Karte* B VI give Guvars or Girvaz SE of Boğlan, c. 38^{0}55'N $\times$ 41^{0}05E, whereas Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 61, identifies Kowaṙs as " *այժման Կիրավի գյուղ՝ Մշո դաշտում* ", where *G 46*, p. 391 gives Kiravi considerably further east, 38^{0}54'N $\times$ 41^{0}32'E, as does Lynch. However, Lynch also indicates a village which he names Akhgan just SE of Kiravi]. According to *FB*, V, iii, the Mamikonean fortress stood on the Euphrates, " *Ողական,... որ կայ ի վերայ գետոյն Եփրատայ* ", consequently, *Ողական* should not be confused with *Ողնուտ*,, especially since Yovhannēs Mamikonean distinguishes between *Եղնուտ* and *Ողկան*. In our opinion, *Ողական* is used for *Ողնուտ* only in the above case. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, p. 11 translates *Ողական* as " rundlich " as a result of his confusion between *ող* and the Arm. *աւղ* = " ring ", as Hübschmann correctly observed, *Ortsnamen*, p. 460. However, Hübschman makes a similar mistake

when he translates *Եղնուտ*, *Եղանց բերդ* as "Hirschkuhreich", "Burg der Hirschkühe", *Ibid.*, p. 423. *Ողկան*, *Ողին* as well as *Ող—ական* were originally derived from the Arm. *ողն* = "spine, backbone", which can also be used of mountains to mean "chain, range", *e.g.* "*ամենայն ողունք ձորք եւ ծործորք եւ սարք*" Gregory of Nyssa, as cited in the *Arm. Dict.*, "*ողն* (3)", II, p. 507. *Ողնունդ* means simply "hilly", *Եղանց բերդ* (for *Ողանց բերդ*) = "the castle on the hills, or the crests". In Łazar P'arpeçi, *Ողին* is the genitive of *Ողն*, giving *գիւղ Ողին* similar to *գիւղ Երիզայ*. *Ող—ական բերդ* < the de-nasalized root just as *ձեռական* < *ձեռ—ն*. *բերդ Ողին* = *բերդ Ողական* should be compared with *Երէզ*, *Երիզայ* = *Երէզ—ական* = modern *Երզնկայ* < *Երզնկան* (*cf.* mod. *Երեւանեան* for *Երեւանի նահանգ*). The identity of *Ողին* and *Ողական* is also supported by the fact that classical sources refer to the *Ողական* of Tarōn as *'Ολάνη*, *Strabo*, XI, xiv, 6 [L. V, 326/7] or "Volandum", Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIII, xxxix [L. IV, 66/7]. (16, 2)

[31] *LP'*, lxxxiii, p. 489, "*Եւ զօրավարն Հայոց Վահան մամիկոնեան դարձեալ ի կոտորածէ թշնամեացն, երթեալ հանգչէր զմնացեալ մասն ի գիշերոյն յՈղին գեղջն, զոր Տոեայ անուանեն, ի գոմս տեղեացն, … եւ ի ծագել լուսոյն `երթեալ բնակէր ի գիւղն Տոէոյ :*". (17, 1)

[32] *I.e.* زيزن | and ز يرن | instead of ريزن |. [All contemporary maps and gazetteers, however, give Aziza. *Cf.* Appendix V. *Cf.* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 196]. (17, 2)

[32a] [*See above* n. 28. *Also*, *Arm. Geogr.* 31/41, "*…զՏարօն, …ըստ Հիւսիսոյ` Աշմունիք` առ Սրմանց լերամբ, …*". *Cf.* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 322, 327, 370 and Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 40, 80. The Bingöl-su no longer exists under this name. Judging from Adontz's argument and Hübschmann's map on which two streams are given this name, the one intended here may be the one now called Hasanova suyu. However, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 197 suggests that the "... Bingöl-su [ist] vielleicht den oberen Aracani".]

[32b] [*See above*, nn. 30 and 31. The name Menaskut found in Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, Lynch, Kiepert, Karte B VI is no longer recorded.]

[33] *ZG*, p. 25, "*…զզացուցին սրբոյն Գրիգորի, եթէ ի գաւառն Տարօնոյ երկուս բագինս մնացեալ են… : Իսկ նորա դէմ եդեալ գայր, զի եւ զայնս քանդեսցէ. եւ եկեալ յերկիրն Պալունեաց յաւանն մեծ Գիսանէ ի քաղաքագեւղն Կուառս, …*". *Ibid.*, p. 43 "*…զային Հասանէին ընդ գաւառն Պալունեաց. եւ երկուս աւուրս մնացին ի մեծ աւանն Հոռեանս: Եւ անտի ելին ի գեւղն Կուառս.*"

Among the estates of the Mamikonean, Zenob also mentions, *Ibid.*, p. 37, "[*Կուառս*] *… որպէս կայ ի գրի իշխանացն մամիկոնենից :*"

Joh. Mam., iii, p. 31, "*…եկն ի գլուխ Տարօնու : Եւ շինէ զաւերեալն Ձիւնկերտ քաղաք մեծ. եւ փոխէ զանուն քաղաքին ըստ անուան կնոջ իւրոյ … Պորպէս, այս ինքն Համեղ :*".

Ibid., p. 62, "*… ի Ձիւնկերտ Տարօնոյ ի Պորպ քաղաքի :*"

[Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 63, identifies Porpēs with Xaraba-Barbas" *Ձիւնկերտ … կոչվում էր նաեւ Պորպէս, այժմ` Խարաբա—Բարբաս, Բողլան գետակի Հոկտում :*", and agrees with Adontz that it lay in the center of the district of Palunik' *Ibid.*, p. 76. Xaraba can be identified with the modern Harabe Köy, $38^{0}57'$N × $41^{0}02'$E according to *G 46*, p. 275 (1), but Kiepert, *Karte*, B VI gives Borbas as a separate locality slightly to the south-west of "Charaba". No Borbas can be found on modern maps or in *G 46*]. (18, 1)

[33a] [For the Navšan pass *cf.* Lynch, Map and Kiepert, Karte B VI.]

33b [Astłberd is probably to be identified with Azakpert, 39°14'N × 40°30'E according to *G 46*, p. 64, and Aznaberd with Aznafer, 39°12'N × 40°35'E, *Idem.* Kiepert, *Karte*, gives all three localities in the same district, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 19 n. 2 rejects Adontz's identification as "zu weit westlich". His own localization of Kitharizōn, *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19 and map I place it further south though no further east. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 59 suggests the possibility of an identification with Çapakçur. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 291-293, identifies Kitharizōn with Köderiç, a suggestion rejected by Adontz, *see above*, n. 27. *See also* Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. *50.]

34 *Arm. Geogr.*, 31/41-2, "*Աշմունիք առ Սրմանց լերամբ, որ կոչի Կատար երկրի, յորմէ յոյժ բղխեն աղբիւրք*" (*cf.* mod. بيك كول Bingöl = "thousand springs") *որոց ըստ Հիւսիսի՝ Մարդաղի առ Մեղեղուխ լերամբ, մինչեւ ցնոյն Այծպտկունս որ բաժանէ ընդ Կարին եւ ընդ նա ··· յորոյ յելից բխէ Մուրց գետ.* ". The name Srmanç can be compared with the *Սրեմ, Սրենց ձոր, Սրբաձոր, Սերեմաձոր* of *Joh. Mam.*, pp. 41-42. *Այծ — պտկունք* = "Goat-teats"; the mountains evidently received their name from their bare and jagged peaks (*cf.* Teke-dere = "goat — plain" near Erzurum, if تكه in this case means "goat" and not "monastery", or "cemetery"). The modern name of the range, Palandöken = "throwing off the saddle", likewise emphazises the craggy abruptness of the mountains. [*Cf.* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 195-197]. (20, 1)

34a [On Mardałi, *see*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 157, 192-193, and Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 65.]

35 *Menand. Prot.*, pp. 394-395,

"... *προσβαίνοντι δὲ Χοσρόῃ ἀνὰ τὰ πρόσω οἱ ἐν τῷ κλίματι Μακραβανδῶν καὶ Ταραννῶν ἥκιστα ἔμενον, ... εἶτα ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς καλουμένης Βαδιανῆς, ... ἐσβάλλει τε εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἀρμενίαν κατὰ Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ... ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐς τὸ Ἀραβησσῶν ἐπικεκλημένον χωρίον, ἀμφὶ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τοῦ ἄστεος, τὸ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, αὐτό γε δήπου τὸ συναθροισθὲν, ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον περὶ τὸ κλίμα τὸ καλούμενον * συναγόμενον, ἐς ὑπώρειάν τινα ὄρους* ".

Saint-Martin in his edition of Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, X, p. 135, corrected the error of the Latin translator who had turned *ἄρκτον* into a proper name, "ad Arctum", but he made a similar error himself in mistaking *συναγόμενον* for a place name, "à Synagomenon". The truth of the matter is that the name of the province has dropped out of the text. The advance of king Xusrō from the neighbourhood of Dara to Armenia, and thence to Caesarea by way of Theodosiopolis, is also related by Joh. Eph., *HE*, VI, viii, p. 225. The passage concerning the battle near Theodosiopolis is incorrect, with the result that the word *bgr* in the original has been incorrectly interpret in the German translation [I.M. Schönfelder, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus*, Munich, 1862], p. 232. This same word is read "Bagrava", in Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, viii [Budge, in his translation, p. 79 gives the passage as follows, "Then the *Rhômâyê* overtook (or, pursusued) [the *Persians*] in Mount *Bagrûh*, ..."]. There can be no doubt that the name of the locality where the battle took place is given here. The author obviously had in mind the Armenian province of Bagrewand, the *Μακραβανδ-ῶν* of Menander (replacing *Μ-β-ακραβανδῶν* where *-μβ-* have replaced the former *β-*), the district close to Roman territory where the clash between the Persian and Roman forces occured. [The de Boor edition of Menander, *Excerpta de legationibus*, Berlin, 1903, p. 201, 27 gives "*Βακραβανδῶν καὶ Ταραννῶν*". *See also*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 21 sqq.]. (20, 2)

36 Ende-r-is or Henderis [Endires] is a distortion of Arda-l-is. Another example of the Turkish shift of *l* into *r* is to be found in Pe-r-i < anc. Pe-l-i = *Πάλιος κάστρον*, Arm. Պաղի—ն. [On Artalesōn, *see* Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 16-19]. (21, 1)

37 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, xxiv [L. I, 478/9]. (22, 1)

38 Joh. Eph., *HE*, VI, xiv, p. 235; Maurice, setting out against the Persians, " ... inter Armeniam et Syriam apud Qithariz videlicet, constitit ". (22, 2)

38a [Darizoa cannot be identified with certainty. All the localities called Darözü in *G 46*, p. 169, lie much too far west for Adontz's argument. The most likely identification seems to be Derreigazan $38^{0}58'$N × $40^{0}30'$E, *G 46*, p. 180 and *USAFM*.]

38b [The Deveboyun mountains are found in Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 222 and Lynch's Map, but have vanished from modern nomenclature].

38c [*ŁP*', lxxv, pp. 440-441, " Եւ էր բանակ սաստկութեան զօրուն Արեաց ի գեօղն որ անուանի Դու, ի սահմանակցութեան Պարսից եւ Հոռոմոց : Եւ զօրավարն Հայոց մամիկոնեանն Վահան մերձ ի նա իբրեւ երկուք հրասախօք, ի գեօղ մի որ կոչի Մկնառինճ, ··· ". *Ibid.*, lxxx, p. 472, " Եւ երթեալ յՈ.քաղն բանակէր մօտ ի գեօղն, որում անուն էր միումն Գյուղիկ, եւ միւսումն Վարդա—չէն. եւ բանակեալ անդ զօրն զայն, լսէր ի վաղիւն թէ մամիկոնեանն Վահան մօտ էր ի նա ի Վարայրվարոյն ի Հոռոմ տան, ի գաւառին որ կոչի Տաղագոմ » : *Ibid.*, lxxxi, p. 481, " ··· Վահան ··· բանակէր ի գիւղ մի մերձ, որ էր ընդ իշխանութեամբն Մամիկոնէից, որում անուն էր Ծաղիկ.]

39 *AL*, xvi, p. 89, " ···գայ ի գլուխն Բասենոյ, մերձ ի գիւղն որ կոչի Դու " : Du is also mentioned together with Ordu in *Sebēos*, xxiii, p. 77, " ... երեւ պատերազմ մեծ ի Դու եւ Ցորդրու ". *FB* III, iv, knows Ordru as the domain of the Orduni house, " ··· զքուն գիւղն Որդունւոյ, որոյ անուն էր Որդորու ". Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 90, followed by many others, has identified Du and Ordru as Greater and Lesser Du [Büyük and Küçük Tuy]. In my opinion, however, Ordru should not be identified with one of the Dus, but rather with present day Ortu, on the Ortu-su east of Alvar, which is already mentioned in Łazar P'arpeçi's account of Vahan, *ŁP*', lxxxv, p. 500, " ··· ի գաւառն Բասենոյ ··· ի գիւղն զոր Ալվարն կոչեն ". [Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 180-181 and 214 n. 7, accepts Adontz's identifications. However, the present Ortuzu $39^{0}55'$N × $41^{0}33'$E according to *G 46*, p. 500 (1) lies just SW rather than E of Alvar $39^{0}56'$N × $41^{0}37'$E, *Ibid.*, p. 35 (2)]. According to Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 104, the village of Ծաղիկ stood within the borders of Asthianenē, but it is evident from Łazar's account, that it was not far from Ok'ał (since Łazar calls it " գիւղն մի մերձ ". *ŁP*', lxxxi, p. 481, to the Persian general Hazarawuχt, who was stationed near Ok'ał, *Ibid.*, lxxix, p. 472); it was also on the way to Karin and to the nearby village of Arcat'i, *Ibid.*, lxxxi, pp. 481-483. (23, 1)

39a [*ŁP*', lxxx, p. 476, " իսկ Տապհոյ տարեալ զկանայս Կամսարականացն յա—մուր բերդն Բասենոյ, զոր Բողբերդն կոչեն ", [also *Ibid.*, lxxxvi, p. 509.]

40 Procopius, *Pers.* I, xv, 32-33 [L. I, 138/9-140/1], " ...*Βῶλον αὐτοῖς το φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πῃ ὄν τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁρίων,* ". *Also*, *Ibid.*, I, xx:i, 3, 18 [L. I, 204/5, 208/9] and *Goth.* IV, xiii, 19 [L. V, 188/9]. (24, 1)

41 *Joh. Mam.*, pp. 57-58, " Ներսէս Կաթողիկոս, որ ի Տայոց էր ծննդ-եամբ, այն՝ որ զՎաղարշակերտոյ Սուրբ Աստուածածինն շինեաց ". The church of the Holy Mother of God, Սուրբ Աստուածածին still stands near Hasankale [in 1908]. In the tenth century, the bishop of the Iberians had his seat at Vałaršakert, *AL*, ii, p. 28. (24, 2)

42 Buχa is found in the *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 35/46, " *Բուխա եւ Աղորդացփոր* " and in the *Gahnamak*, " *Բուխա Դիմաքսեան* ", [*see* Appendix IIIA]. In both cases the form Buχa can be taken as a genitive form of *Բուխ*. The form *Բուխա* is also found in MSS, Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 371. *Բող* or Boł bears the same relation to *Բուխա* as *Ուխտի - ք* < *Ուղտի—ք* to Oltu. *AL*, i, pp. 24-25 [var.] *Ուխտիք* and ii, p. 29, *Ուխթիք*. *Asołik*, III, xii, p. 189, and III, xliii, p. 278, *քաղաք Ուխթեաց*. The modern form, Oltu *Օլթի* shows that the phoneme *-խ-* in *Ուխթիք* was originally derived from a — *ղ* —. Incidentally, we should note that a village named [Uχta-Otha ?] still exists on the banks of the Tortum gölu, west of Oltu, and that its name is closer to that of *Ուխթի* Lynch, *Armenia*, map, gives the name of this locality as " Okhda ". [*Cf.* Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 45, who gives the spelling *Բուղա—կալա* and agrees with Adontz's identification. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 157, n. 5].

43 Procopius, *Pers.* I, xv, 31-33 [L. I, 138/9]

" *'Υπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσῆς τε καὶ 'Αράτιος, ... αὐτόμολοι ἐς 'Ρωμαίους ἧκον, '.. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ 'Ισαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφός, ἔμαθε, 'Ρωμαίοις λάθρα ἐς λόγους ἐλθων Βῶλον αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πη ὂν τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁρίων, παρέδωκε* ".
Ibid., xx, 3 [L. I, 202/3-204/5]; *Goth.* IV, xiii, 19 [L. V, 188/9]; *Pers.* II, xxix, 14 [L. I, 530/1-532/3],

" *Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Τζανικῆς ὁρίων ἐν 'Αρμενίοις οἳ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον ᾤκηνται ...* ".
Βόας= *Վոհ* *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/40, or *Յոհ* *Ibid.*, pp. 35/46, where the initial — *յ* — is the prefixed preposition. *Ոհ* is a popular spelling for *Վոհ* resulting from the pronunciation of an initial *ո* — as *Վո*. [*Cf.* Eremyan, *Armenia*, 32, 84, 104]. *Strabo*, XI, xiv, 9 [L. V, 328/9], " *Μέταλλα δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Συσπιρίτιδί ἐστι χρυσοῦ κατὰ τὰ Κάβαλλα* ". The origin of Pharangion is not clear. G. Destunis, commenting on the Russian translation of Procopius [S. Destunis, *History of the Vandalic War*, St. Petersburg, 1891], " notes ", vol. I, p. 189, believed that the name should be derived from the Gr. *φαράγξ* " cleft, gorge, valley ". Inčičean, *Antiquities*, I, 189, associated it with Arkni-Arłni and reads it as *φάργανον*. It is clear from Procopius' comment, " ... *Φαράγγιον καλούμενον* ", that *Farangius* was a local term. We believe it to be none other than the Pers. *farhang*, Arm. *Հրահանգ*, having the sense, " works, exploitation, mines " = *գործ ոսկեհատի*, *ŁP'*, lxv, p. 378. (25, 2)

43a [The Parhal or Parhar range is given on the maps of both Lynch, *Armenia* and Kiepert, *Karte*, A VI [Balchar], but this name has disappeared from the modern nomenclature albeit the village of Barhal 40^{0}59'N × 41^{0}25'E, *G 46*, p. 77 still records its existence. The range refered to by this name is the NE end of the Pontic chain. *Cf.* Marqwart, *Sudarmenien*, pp. *21 sqq.; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 450 sqq.]

44 *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 35/46, " *···անցանէ առ Թուխարս բերդով ի Կլարճս եւ անտի յեգր, ընդ Նիգալ, ընդ Մրուղ եւ ընդ Մրիտ գաւառս՝ ի Պոնտոս ծով* " T'uχars [Hars] is mentioned by *Łewond*, p. 26, and *Vaχušt*, p. 112, ციხე თუხარისა. South of Hařs is found Irχan [= Erkinis 40^{0}33'N × 41^{0}43'E, *G 46*, p. 213], the historical *Երախանի* of *FB*, IV, xviii; south of Irχan stands Işhan [40^{0}48'N × 41^{0}45'E, *G 46*, p. 313 (2)], the *Իշխան* of *Sebēos*, p. 140; and between them is found Avaris [41^{0}51'N × 41^{0}45'E, *G 46*, p. 58] which can perhaps be identified with *Արահեղ*, the birthplace of the kat'ołikos Giwt', *ŁP'*, lxii, p. 354. Oşnak [40^{0}40'N × 41^{0}24'E, *G 46*, p. 501] = *Որջնհաղ* *Ibid.*, xli, p. 234, is closer to Ispir. (26, 1)

44a [For the Imerhevi = Šawšēn, *see*, Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 73.]

45 *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 35/46, puts one of the districts of Tayk', the *Արսեանց—փոր առ Պարխար լերամբ*, ", but locates the Parχar range on the left bank of the Voh-Çoruh. According to *ŁP*', xli, p. 233, the Parχar mountains were found " …*մերձ առ սահմանակցութիւն Խաղտեաց* ", and not in Chaldia proper as we might expect, but the fortresses in the Parχar mountains in which Hmayeak Mamikonean had found refuge apparently belonged to the Mamikonean and were part of the district of Tayk', *Ibid.*, p. 234. [On Tayk' and Klarǰet'i, *see*, Markwart, *Erān*, p. 116, and Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 59, 84, 116, etc.]. (27, 1)

46 Procopius, *Pers.* I, xv, 19 [L. I, 134/5],
" … *τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οἳ ἐν γῇ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυντο* ". (27, 2)

46a [On Petra and its defense, *see* Procopius, *Pers.* II, xv, 10 (L. I, 388/9); xvii, 3 — to end of chapter (*Ibid.*, 405/6-410/1); xix, 47-49 (*Ibid.*, 428/9-430/1); xxix — to end of book (*Ibid.*, 528/9 sqq.). *Goth.* IV, ii, 32 (L. V, 72/3); xi-xiii (*Ibid.*, 148/9-190/1); *Aed.* III, iii, 7 (L. VII, 214/5; etc..]

CHAPTER V

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, I, p. 351, " ... like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire ". [Adontz's discussion of the administrative system of Diocletian and his successors should be checked throughout against the extensive recent scholarship, for which *see* the Bibliographical Note]. (91, 1)

[2] *Notitia Dignitatum et administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*, E. Böcking ed. (1839-1853). Because of its extensive and valuable historical notes, Böcking's edition cannot be considered as completely superceded by Seeck's new and undoubtedly more critical edition of 1876. [Used throughout this edition and for Appendix II A]. In his special study, *Über die Notitia Dignitatum* (1834), Böcking, after reviewing all previous opinions, came to the conclusion that the *Notitia* had been composed under Theodosius II, after 399 and ca. 404 [sic.] Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, VI, pp. 476, 733-736, had been of the same opinion, but at present, Seeck's opinion that the document dates from 413-415 is preferred. Cf. *Questions de Notitia dignitatum* (1872). [At present, the general view is that the two parts of the *Notitia* are not quite contemporary in content " the Western section having been revised to a later date than the Eastern ". Jones, *LRE*, II, pp. 1417 et sqq. *See also* J.B. Bury's study, " The Notitia Dignitatum ", *JRS*, X (1922)].] (92, 2)

[3] *Zosim.*, II, 33. (92, 1)

[3a] [*See* Appendix II A, xxv.]

[4] Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprocess*, III, No. 135, p. 83. [Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 609, " ... the fifth-century laws show clearly that the regional *magistri* retained authority over the *comites* and *duces* in their respective zones ". Also pp. 597, 599, 608 *et sqq.*]. (93, 1)

[5] The *Not. dig.* lists the legions by name; we give here only the pseudo-comitatenses:

Prima Armeniaca	Quarta Italica
Secunda Armeniaca	Sexta Parthica
Fortenses auxiliarii	Prima Isaurica sagittaria
Funditores	Balistarii Theodosiaci
Prima Italica	Transtigritani.

[*Not. dig.*, vii, 23-24, 35, 38, 48-58, pp. 21-22]. (94, 1)

[6] Vegetius, *Epitoma*, II, 6. Joh. Lyd., *De mag.* I, xlvi, p. 46, who is familiar with Venatius' work, is of the opinion that, " ... *ἄλας ... ἀπὸ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων, βηξιλλατίωνας ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ... τοξοτῶν ἱππέων, καὶ λεγιῶνας ἀπὸ ἑξακισχίλιων πεζῶν καὶ ῥητῶν ἱππέων* ". The name *vexilliationes* is derived from *vexillum* " ensign, these detachments were composed of *vexilla veteranorum, i.e. vexilla* recruited from veterans having completed twenty years' service. (94, 2)

[7] Vegetius, *Epitoma*, II, 1, " ... auxilia a sociis vel foederati gentibus mittebantur ". *Ibid.*, II, 2, " ... auxiliares ... ex diversis locis ex diversis numeris venientes, nec disciplina inter se nec notitia nec affectione consentiunt ". (95, 1)

[7a] [For the army described in the *Not. dig.* and calculations as to its probable size, *see* Jones, *LRE*, Appendix II, Tables I-XV, II, pp. 1429-1450].

[8] Willems, *Droit Public*, p. 590.

[8a] [*Not. dig. Oc.*, V, 125-126, 133, p. 121. *Cf. Not. dig. Or.*, V, 26 and VI, 26, pp. 13, 17, *also* Appendix II A.]

8b [This passage is rather puzzling in view of its internal contradiction, and of the fact that a number of other dukes with their contingents are duly listed in both parts of the *Notitia dignitatum*. *Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 44, 223-224, etc.]

9 Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprocess*, III, No. 135, p. 85. (96, 1)

9a [*See* Appendix II A, for the context of this passage.]

10 Mommsen is probably mistaken when he takes " *nuper* ", in the phrase " Ala prima praetoria nuper constituta ", for the deformation of a place name. Some of the MSS give a prefix *ca-* " ca-nuper ", which Böcking, *Not. dig.*, I, p. 96, suffixes on the preceding word, " pretori-ca ". Müller, *Ptolemy*, p. 886 notes, suggests the reading " Zopar " by association with the Zoparissos of *Ptolemy*, [V, vi, 21], but this is an unfounded hypothesis. The word " nuper " occurs several times in a similar context in the *Not. dig.* : " Ala Theodosiana nuper constituta. Ala Arcadiana nuper constituta ... ". [*Not. dig. Or.*, XXVIII, 20-21, p. 59] to show that these regiments bearing the names of Theodosius and Arcadius had been constituted shortly before the composition of the *Notitia dignitatum*, during the reigns of these emperors. The appointment of the regiment *ad praetorium* presumably belongs to the same period. Many stations in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, bear the name " *Praetorio* ". One of these is listed on the road from Caesarea to Anazarbus [*Itin. Ant.*, 212], and nine more stations with the same name occur in other parts of the Empire. [If the " Ala ... nuper constituta " stood " ad Praetorium ", the location must have been that of the station on the road Sebasteia to Kukusos by way of Melitenē, according to *Itin. Ant.*, 177, This would place it at Hasançelebi on the road from Malatya to Sivas. *See above*, Chapter IV, pp. 63-67. The " Praetorio " on the road to Anazarbus seems too far south.] (97, 1)

10a [Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, xxv, [L. IV, 254/5, " Suriaeque ... copiae militares Corbuloni permissae, et quinta decuma legio ducente Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta est ". The Twelfth legion was sent by Corbulo down to Syria, *Ibid.*, xxv [L. IV, 254/5-256/7], " At Corbulo quarta et duodecuma legionibus, quae fortissimo quoque amisso et ceteris exterritis parum habiles proelio videbantur, in Suriam translatis, ... ", but it was sent back by Titus after the capture of Jerusalem, Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VII, 18 [L. III, p. 510/1], " ... *μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κεστίου στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ῥαφαναίαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν καλουμένην ἀπέστειλε· παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστι καὶ Καππαδοκίας* ".
The Fifteenth legion likewise participated in the Jewish war, but instead of returning it immediately to Armenia, Titus first kept it with him, *Ibid.*, VII, 19 [L. III, 510.1], and then quartered it in Pannonia, *Ibid.*, VII, 117 [L. III, 538/9]. The precise date of its return to the East is not known, Arrian, *Periplus*, v, knows that it was in Cappadocia by A.D. 136, and a vexillatio from it was stationed at Kainepolis [Vałaršapat] in 185, *CIL*, III, 6052. *Cf.* Müller, *Ptolemy*, pp. 884-885, notes and Chapot, *Frontière*, pp. 73-74, 79, 351, etc.]

11 *Cass. Dio.*, LV, xxiii, 5 [L. VI, 454/5], " ... *καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, ... τό τε πεντεκαιδέκατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ* ... ". (98, 1)

11a [*Itin. Ant.*, 183.]

12 *Proc. Aed.*, I, vii, 3 [L. VII, 66/7], " ... *ἐν λεγεῶνι δὲ δυοδεκάτῃ ἐτάττοντο, ᾗ ἐν πόλει Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἵδρυτο* ". *Ibid.*, III, iv, 16 [L. VII, 198/9]. (98, 2)

13 Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, v [L. I, 336/7]. (98, 3)

[14] Vegetius, *Epitoma*, II, 6, " ... in una legione decem cohortes esse debere, sed prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praecedit. Nam genere atque institutione litterarium viros electissimos quaerit ... habet pedites mille centum quinque, equites loricatos CXXXII, et appellatur cohors miliaria ". (99, 1)

[15] [*Not. dig.*, xxxviii, 2-19. *Cf.* Appendix II A]. Without deciding *a priori* whether or not a place named Aladaleariza really existed (cf. Olotoedariza in the *Itin. Ant.*, 183, 207), we can assume that in this case, Aladaleariza is merely a dittography for Ala Rizena. The text should then be read:

Ala Rizena (Aladaleariza), apud Auaxam
Ala Theodosiana }
Ala (Felix) Theodosiana) } Siluanis.

In other words, the Ala Rizena was stationed at Auaxa and the other *ala* stood at Siluanis. This second detachment bore the name of Theodosius. Here the duplication was brought about by the repetition of lines, and the epithet " Felix " was added to distinguish one Theodosiana from the other. The authenticity of this Ala felix Theodosiana is all the more doubtful that an " ala prima felix Theodosiana " is listed further down as being stationed at Pithiae ". [*Not. dig.*, xxxviii, 32. Adontz's suggestion is ingenious, and the repetition of a detachment seems to have occurred elsewhere, *eg. Ibid.*, xxxi, 41, p. 64, " Ala prima Abasgorum, Hibeos — Oaseos maioris ", and xxxi, 55, p. 65, " Ala prima Abasgorum, Oasi maiore ". However, *cf.* Seeck, *Not. dig.*, p. 84 n. 2 and Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 675, 679 identifying Aladaleariza with Olotoedariza of the *Itin. Ant.*, and placing the Ala Rizena there. Jones, *LRE*, II, 1430, also preserves the three *alae* of the *Notitia* and stations the first at Aladaleariza]. (99, 2)

[15a] [Lynch, *Armenia*, Map. Kiepert, *Karte*, A V. This locality cannot be identified on modern maps.]

[16] Lynch, *Armenia*, II, p. 236, fig. 174, gives a photograph of the " castle of Kalajik ". The ruins are also described by Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 203. (100, 1)

[16a] [Mochora is given by Kiepert, *Karte*, B VI, but no locality of this name can be found east of Zigana on modern maps. The nearest approximation to the location seems to be Muzena, given on *USAFM* 324 C IV though not in *G 46*. Both Muçura 40°54'N × 39°27'E and Mohala 40°57'N × 39°27'E, *G 46*, pp. 475 and 477 seem too far north of the Zigana pass.]

[17] The location of Hadzana does not seem to coincide exactly with that of Chaszanenica. The road from Trapezos followed two routes : [*Itin. Ant.*, 216]:
" Trapezus 20 *ad Vicensimum* 32 Zigana 24 Thia 17 Sedissa 24 Domana 18 Satala.
20 *Magnana* 10 Gizenica 18 Bylae (pylae) 6 Frigidarium 8 Patara 14
Medocia 12 Solonenica 18 Domana 18 Satala ". [*Tab. Peut.*, X, 2-5, *cf.* pp. 645-646, fig. 212]. Judging from the distances given, Magnana was identical with the station called ad Vicensimum in the *Itin. Ant.*, and should have been located in the vicinity of Cevizlik. Gizenica, the next station on the road, must in anyc ase have laid further south, but this fact hinders the identification of Chaszanenica with Hadzana, since the latter is located to the north of Cevizlik. The name of the Tzans is included in the toponym Chas-zan-enica or Gi-zen-ica. [*Cf.* Kiepert, *Karte*, A VI and Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 681. The toponym Hadzana, or Hatsavara as it is given by Kiepert, has disappeared, from modern maps, but Larhan, with which Kiepert identifies Chaszanenica, can still be found lying duly south of Civizlik. *G 46*, p. 449, *USAFM* 324 C IV]. (100, 2)

18 Arrian, *Periplus*, viii. [*Anonymous Periplus*], p. 411. [*Cf.* Müller, *Ptolemy*, p. 922 note, and Chabot, *Frontière*, p. 365 et al.]. (100, 3)

19 Böcking, *Not. dig.*, I, p. 434 n. 47. [Kainē Parembolē is identified with Colchidian Neapolis by Müller, *Ptolemy*, p. 923 note, and with Kena or Okena in Tzanika by Chabot, *Frontière*, p. 363 and n. 3. On the independence of Tzanika before Justinian, *see above* Chapters I, p. 23 and III, pp. 49 sqq. Might it be possible on the other hand to identify Kainē Parembolē with Kainēpolis = Vałaršapat, where the presence of a *vexillatio* of the XV Legion Apollinaris is attested as early as A.D. 185, *cf. above* n. 10a? On Pithia and Sebastopolis and the city referred to by Ancient sources under the latter toponym, *see Not. dig.*, p. 84 n. 7, who identifies Pithia with Pitiunt, Müller, *Ptolemy*, pp. 922-923 notes, who discusses the problem of Sebastopolis: Chabot, *Frontière*, 213-214, and 364-368, who raises the question of the extent of the jurisdiction of the *dux Armeniae*. For more recent discussions of the extent of Roman penetration in this area, see Markwart, *Itinerar*, passim, Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 106-110 and 114-115, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 257 n. 359]. (100, 4)

19a [*Itin. Ant.* 217. *See* preceding note.]

20 According to the *Not. dig.*, Or. XII, p. 35; Oc. X, p. 147, the duties of the Quaestor sacri palati were to draft imperial constitutions and receive petitions, " Leges dictandae. Preces ". He also confirmed laws: " quaestor legi " or " subscripsi ". [For the Laterculus maius et minus and the duties of the quaestor and the primicerius notarium, *cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 101-104, 337, 574-575, etc.] (101, 1)

20a [*Not. dig.*, xxxviii, *see* Appendix II a.]

21 Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprocess*, III, No. 142, pp. 133-161. (102, 1)

21a [*Not. dig.*, xxv, xxxviii, pp. 54, 83, *see also* Appendix II a.]

21b [Panciroli, *Not. dig.*]

21c [Böcking, *Not. dig.*, I, p. 284.]

22 *Cedrenus*, I, p. 563, " ... τὰ ἐν τοῖς νικαρίους τοῦ νομίσματος ὑποκείμενα Ῥομαικὰ γράματα δηλοῦσι ταῦτα : το κ κιβιτάτες, το ο ὅμνις, το ν νόστραι, το Β βενερατιόνι, τουτέστιν αἱ πόλεις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πειθαρχείτωσαν προσκυνήσει ". *Cf.* Böcking, *Not. dig.*, I, p. 284. (104, 1)

22a [The following correction was included by Adontz in the list of errata, p. 526 of the Russian edition, " The following information transmitted to us through the kind offices of I.I. Smirnov should be added to the discussion of the abbreviation CONOB given on pp. 103-104 [Russian ed.]. These letters are now read CON(stantinopolis) and OB(ryzum), " pure gold ", *see* Pinder and Friedländer, *De la signification des lettres OB sur les monnaies byzantines*, (Berlin, 1851, 2 ed., 1873), also Babelon, E., *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris (1901-1907), I, pp. 889 sqq. ".]

22b [For another discussion of the Satrapies and their status, *see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 131 sqq., 172-173 nn. 96-100, etc., who shares a number of Adontz's views but has corrected and developed them to a considerable extent.]

23 Kuhn, *Verfassung*, II, p. 14, " Verbündete freie und ünterthänige Gemeinde ". Willems, *Droit Public*, pp. 335-336, 349-351, 362. (105, 1)

23a [On the *foederati* and the transformation of this term, *see* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 159, 199-203, 663-668.]

24 Procopius, *Vand.*, I [III], xi, 3-4 [L. II, 102/3], " ... ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι εἶναι, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσημένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφίκοιντο· φοίδερα γὰρ τὰς πρὸς

τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἅπασι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμῃ ἐστί, ...". (106, 1)

25 Procopius, *Goth.*, IV [VIII], v, 13 [L. V, 90/1-92/3],
[" ... *μετὰ δὲ δόντος βασιλέως ᾠκήσαντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία, καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυνεμάχουν Ῥωμαίοις, τάς τε συντάξεις ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται πρὸς βασιλέως κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ φοιδερᾶτοι ἐπικληθέντες· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς τότε Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἡσσημένοι αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τισὶν ἔνσπονδοι ἐγένοντο σφίσι·* ..."]. (106, 2)

26 Procopius, *Vand.*, I [III], xi, 5 [L. II, 102/3], " ... *ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδεράτων μὲν Δωρόθεός τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγός* ... ". (107, 2)

26a [*Cf.* Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xv, 3 [L. I, 130/1] in which Dorotheus is called "general of Armenia", "*Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς* ..." whereas Sittas is referred to as having "authority over the whole army in Armenia", "*παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ ἐφειστήκει*". *Cf. below*, Chapter VI, pp. 108-111 and nn. 13-14.]

27 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 17-27 [L. VII, 182/3-186/7],
" ... *τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὖσα διήκει ἐς Ἄμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε, καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκαλοῦντο ταύτας, ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄρχι ἐς θάνατον. σύμβολα μέντοι αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐδέχοντο μόνον. ἄξιον δὲ τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἐς ἀνθρώπου ὄψιν ἀφίξεται. χλαμὺς ἡ ἐξ ἐρίων πεποιημένη, οὐχ οἷα τῶν προβατίων ἐκπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θαλάσσης συνειλεγμένων. πίννους τὰ ζῷα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν ἐρίων ἔκφυσις γίνεται. Χρυσῷ δὲ ἡ τῆς πορφύρας κατηλήλειπτο μοῖρα, ἐφ' ἧς εἴωθεν ἡ τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἐμβολὴ γίνεσθαι. περόνη, χρυσῆ τῇ χλαμύδι ἐπέκειτο, λίθον ἐπὶ μέσης περοφράττουσά τινα ἔντιμον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ὑάκινθοι τρεῖς χρυσαῖς τε καὶ χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἀπεκρέμαντο. χιτὼν ἐκ μετάξης ἐγκαλλωπίσμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχόθεν ὡραϊσμένος ἃ δὴ νενομίκασι πλούμια καλεῖν. ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνυ φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἃ δὴ βασιλέα μόνον Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδεῖσθαι θέμις.*

Στρατιώτης δὲ Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε τῷ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ οὔτε σατράπαις ἤμυνε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολέμια κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ διῳκοῦντο. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύοντος Ἰλλοῦ τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ τετυραννηκόσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα διαφανῶς συντάσσεσθαί τινες τῶν σατραπῶν ἔγνωσαν. δίο δὴ Λεόντιόν τε καὶ Ἰλλοῦν Ζήνων βασιλεὺς ὑποχειρίους πεποιημένος, σατράπην μὲν ἕνα φαυλοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Βελαβιτίνῃ καλουμένῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος εἴασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καθελὼν ἅπαντας οὐκέτι ἐς τοὺς κατὰ γένος σφίσι προσήκοντας ξυνεχωρησὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ἀεὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι διώρισε ταύτην, οὓς ἂν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἴη, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις διώρισται Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαῖς. στρατιῶται μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς εἵποντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων τινές, ἧπερ τὰ πρότερα εἴθιστο, ... ". (109, 1)

28 *Malalas*, p. 413. [*See also*, Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 134 nn. 233, 234]. (109, 2)

28a [*Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, *passim.*]

29 *FB*, IV, 1, "*Եթող զարքայն Հայոց և գնաց Սաղամուտ տէրն Անձտեայ, և ընդ նմա իշխանն մեծի Ծոփաց. և գնացին առ թագաւորն Յունաց*". (110, 1)

30 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 12 [L. VII, 180/1], " ... *Ἀρσάκης δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τὴν ἐκ Περσῶν τε καὶ τ' ἀδελφοῦ ἐπιβουλὴν δείσας ἐξέτη τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τισὶν* ... ". (111, 1)

31 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 35-36, [L. I, 280/1], "*Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἑκών γε εἶναι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τά τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται*". (111, 2)

32 Güterbock, *Römisch-Armenien*, p. 19. (112, 1)

33 *FB*, V, xliv, " Եւ յետ այսորիկ գրեաց Հրովարտակ առ Թագաւորն Յունաց, և նմա յանձն արար զաշխարհն Հայոց և զԱրշակ արքայ ". (112, 2)

33a [Stein, *Bas Empire*, II, p. 528 n. 89* agrees with Adontz that the provinces which passed to the Empire at the time of the partition of Armenia enjoyed the same status as the Satrapies. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 133-134, however, distinguishes the status of the " Pentarchs " [Satraps] and that of the princes of Inner Armenia, " ... the ... princes of Inner Armenia were placed under the supervision of their suzerain's viceroy-<s>— ... the *comes Armeniae* ... . The Pentarchs, on the other hand, were left entirely to themselves ". *Cf.* however, pp. 152, 193-195 n. 208. Jones, *LRE* I, 229 and n. 26 argues that the office of *comes Armeniae* was created during the reign of the emperor Zeno (474-5, 476-491). Consequently the provinces acquired by the Empire at the partition of the IVth century could not be subordinated to him from the start. *Cf.* below, p. 93]

33b [Vasiliev, " Review ", *ZMNP*, p. 416, objected that the discussion of the financial obligations of Armenia to the Empire was unclear and self-contradictory. Although most scholars support Adontz's view that the Satrapies benefitted from fiscal immunity as *civitates foederatae*, at least at first, *cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 133, 171, Adontz's discussion is in need of clarification as Vasiliev pointed out. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 173 n. 103 rightly notes that the payment of taxes by the ruler of Sophenē in 502 mentioned by Adontz did in fact imply the loss of financial immunity, and that the fiscal status of the Satrapies had consequently been altered before the period of Justinian.]

33c [*See* Appendix I A for the text of this decree.]

34 *Cod. Th.*, XII, xiii, 5, " Ad collationem auri coronarii placuit neminem absque consuetudine esse cogendum. *Dat. XV. Kal. Febr. Constantinopoli, Richomere et Clearcho Coss.* (384). (113, 1)

35 *Ibid.*, XX, xiii, 1, " *Imp. Iulianus A. ad Sallustium Pf. P.* Aurum coronarium munus est voluntatis, quod non solum senatoribus, sed ne aliis quidem debet indici, licet quaedam indictionum necessitas postulaverit; sed nostro arbitrio reservari oportebit. *Dat. III. Kal. Maii Mamertino et Nevitta Coss.* (362). (114, 1)

36 *Dio. Cass.*, LXXVII [LXVIII], ix, 2-3 [L. IX, 294/5], " *χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν χρυσῶν οὓς ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἀεὶ νικῶν πολλάκις ᾔτει (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ποίημα· πόσον γὰρ τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν ; ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ διδομένων, οἷς στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰώθασιν* ". (114, 2)

37 *Suidas*, p. 976 " *Στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα παρὰ 'Ροδίοις οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτόνομοι ἦσαν οἱ 'Ροδίοι, βραχὺ δέ τις μέρος 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπὶ τιμῇ πέμποντες ἐτήσιον ὡς οὐ φόρου ἡγεμόσι μᾶλλον ἢ στέφανον φίλοις διδόντες* ". (114, 3)

38 *Amm. Marc.*, XXIII, iii, 8 [L. II, 324/5], " Sarracenarum reguli gentium genibus supplices nixi, oblata ex auro corona, tamquam mundi nationumque suarum dominum adorant ". (114, 4)

39 Procopius, *Goth.*, I [V], vi, 2 [L. III, 48/9], " ... *πέμψει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ τριακοσίας ἕλκοντα λίτρας*, ... ". [On the *Aurum coronarium*, *see*, Seston, *REA*, XLIV (1942) and Lacombrade, *Ibid.*, LI (1949)]. (114, 5)

40 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, ii, 6 [L. VII, 188/9], " ... *οἱ τῇδε ᾠκημένοι ... ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ τηνικάδε Σοφανηνῆς σατραπεύοντι καὶ τῆς σατραπείας ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ τὸ σχῆμα, Καβάδῃ προσῆλθον εὐθύς, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Μαρτυρόπολιν αὐτῷ ἐνδιδόντες, φόρους τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες* ". (115, 1)

40a [*See above*, nn. 27 and 33b.]

40b [*CJ*, X, xvi, 13. For the text of this decree, *see* Appendix I C. *Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 193-195 and n. 212.]

41 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 14-15 [L. VII, 182/3], " ... *καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν* [after the partition of 387] *ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἀεὶ καθίστη ὅντινά ποτὲ καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. κόμητά τε Ἀρμενίας ἐκάλουν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτον*". (116, 1)

42 *MX*, III, xlvi, "*Եւ այնուհետեւ ոչ եւս կացուցին Յոյնք ի բաժնի իւրեանց թագաւոր, ... և աշխարհին իւրեանց մասինն կացուցին Յոյնք կոմէսս իշխանս*". (115, 2)

42a [This point of view is shared by Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 194-195. *See above* n. 33a for Jones' thesis that the office of *comes Armeniae* was probably not created before the end of the Vth century, *i.e.* almost a century after the partition of Armenia and half a century after the end of the Arsacid rule in any part of the country.]

43 Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 15-16, [L. VII, 182/3], "*Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ* [of the *comes Armeniae*] *ἀποκρούεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐ παρόντων αὐτῇ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, ...*". [Nevertheless, Jones, *LRE*, I, 229, 271, is of the opinion that, " the post of *comes Armeniae* was created to take over the command of the local levies which protected the area ". Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 152, 193-196, refers to him as a " viceroy ". This was also the opinion of Güterbock, *Römisch-Armenien*, p. 26 who also noted, however, that the count had no troops at his disposal, " An der Spitze des Landes stand der Comes Armeniae — dies sein offizieller Titel — com Kaiser als sein Vertreter ernannt und nach der damaligen hierarchischen Rangordnung mit dem Rang eines spectabilis bekleidet. In welche Kategorie der Comites er aber einzureihen, wird bei der Dürftigkeit der Nachrichten sich mit Sicherkeit kaum entscheiden lassen ... [der] Comes Armeniae überhaupt keine Truppen — weder reguläre noch Auxiliartruppen zur Verfügung standen, und er der Militärgewalt entbehrte," also *Ibid.*, pp. 37 sqq. etc.]. (117, 1)

43a [*Not. dig.*, xxii, xxviii, xxix, pp. 48, 58, 61.]

44 Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprocess*, No. 132, pp. 53-54. [On the *comes Orientis* and his office, *see also*, Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 105, 373, 481, 592]. (118, 1)

45 Güterbock, *Römisch-Armenien*, p. 27, [" Dies vorausgeschickt, dürfte die Vermutung wohl nicht zu gewagt erscheinen, dass auch der Comes Armeniae eine ähnliche Stellung wie der Comes Orientis eingenommen habe, und dass auch ihm, der an des Kaisers statt ein Königreich zu verwalten und zu regieren berufen war, eben deshalb die besondern Rechte eines Vicarius beigelegt worden seien ".] (118, 2)

45a [Adontz's view that the native Armenian princes were the equivalent of provincial *praesides* in their relation to the *comes Armeniae* is questioned by Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 195 n. 213.]

46 *Cod. Th.*, XI, i, 15 [" Unusquisque annonarias species pro modo capitationis et sortium praebiturus per quaternos menses anni curriculo distributo, tribus vicibus summam collationis implebit. Si vero quisquam uno tempore omnia sua debita optat expendere, proprio in accelerandis necessitatibus suis utatur arbitrio. *Dat. XIV. Kal. Iun. Remis, Gratiano et Dagalaipho Coss.* (366)]. (119, 1)

46a [*CJ*, X, xvi, 13. For the text of this decree, see Appendix I C. *Cf. also* above, n. 40b.]

47 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 6-7 [L. I, 270/1-272/3],
"*Ἀκάκιος ... τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν αὐτός. πονηρὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει ἔσχε*

καθ' ὅ τις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. τά τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐληίζετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὔποτε οὖσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμένιοι δέ (φέρειν γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν οἷοί τε ἦσαν) κτείνουσί τε ξυμφρονήσαντες τὸν Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Φαράγγιον καταφεύγουσι". (120, 1)

48 *Ibid.*, II, iii, 8-9 [L. I, 272/3], "*Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπ' αὐτους ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν ... ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐλθὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀκνηρῶς ᾔει τιθασσεύειν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα ἤθη ἀντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπείγετο πείθειν βασιλέα ὑποσχόμενος ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγήν*". (120, 2)

48a [*See above* n. 31, *also* Chapter VII below.]

48b [*Idem.*]

49 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 39 [L. I, 280/1], "... *οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν* ...". (121, 1)

49a [*See* Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 116-120, for an attempt to evaluate the weights and currency of the period.]

50 *CJ*, VII, lxiii, 5, "*Imp. Iustinianus A. Triboniano quaestori sacri palati.* Cum anterioribus legibus ex omni provincia ad hunc nostrum sacratissimus comitatum similis cursus ad appellationes exercendas impertitus est, necessarium nobis visum est huiusmodi spatiis iustum imponere libramentum. Sancimus itaque, si quidem ab Aegyptiaco vel Libyco limite vel Orientali tractu usque ad utrasque Cilicias numerando vel Armeniis et gentibus et omni Illyrico causa fuerit more appellationum transmissa, primum semestre spatium in antiqua definitione permanere et nihil penitus neque deminui neque adcrescere". (122, 1)

51 *FB*, V, liv. *Sebēos*, p. 139. [*See*, Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 201 sqq., 316, etc.]. (122, 2)

52 *FB*, V, liv. (123, 1)

53 *Ibid.*, V, xxxvii. [*Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 193 n. 209]. (123, 2)

54 *Elišē*, I, p. 10, "*Գունդ կազմէր ի Հայոց Մեծաց… յարքունի տանէ դոստանիկ մարդիկ*" also IV, p. 92 etc. *ŁP'*, xxxvi, p. 209, "*… այլք յոստանկաց*", also xli, p. 231, *et al.* [*Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 193 n. 207]. (123, 3)

55 *ŁP'*, xxxii, p. 188, "*Ջանդաղան … յՈստանեաց տանէն*". (123, 4)

56 *Ibid.*, xl, pp. 229-230, 235-236, "*… Ատրոր միզդ [Արշական] յաշխարհէն Հայոց…*" = *Elišē*, VI, pp. 128-129. *Cf.* *մամական* for *մամիկոնեան* [The Venice edition of Łazar P'arpeçi does not give the surname *Արշական* for Atrormizd, *loc. cit.*, but merely calls him "*Ատրորմիզդ ոմն անուն …*". *cf.* however p. 230] (123, 5)

57 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 32 [L. I, 278/9], "*Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι* ...". *Ibid.*, II, iii, 25 [L. I, 276/7], "*Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρσακίδης* ...". (124, 1)

57a [On Artabanes' career, *see*, Procopius, *Vand.*, II [IV], *passim*, especially xxvii, 12-xxviii, 42 [L. II, 438/9-456/7]; *also* below, Chapter VIII, n. 3b]

58 Joh. Eph., *de beatis*, xiii, p. 69, "Vir fuerat magnificus et fastidiosus, a puero regie educatus, natus genere Arsacidarum, Bar-Bar'i, olim patricii omnium in Oriente potentissimi, maximi, et illustrissimi". Bar-*Bar'i* = Bar-*վահրէ*? (124, 2)

59 *Ibid.*, xxi, p. 101. (124, 3)

60 *Sebēos.*, p. 139, "*… Սպերացիք, իշխանք Բագրատունեաց, և Մանաղայք, և Դարանաղայքն, և որք յԵկեղեաց գաւառէ … և Կարնացիք, և Տայեցիք*". *Nersēs*, pp. 36, 38, *Կարնացիք*, *Խորձենիք*, var. *Խորձեանք*, *Դերջայինք*, var. *Դերջանիք* and *Կամխայք*". (124, 4)

61 *FB*, IV, xiv. [*Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 233 n. 291]. (125, 1)

[62] *FB*, III, ii, *et al.* (125, 2)

[63] *ŁP*', xviii, p. 111. (125, 3)

[64] *Ełišē*, IV, p. 93, " …առ այր մի, որոյ Վասակ անուն էր, յայնց Մամիկոնենից՝ որ կան ի ծառայութեան Յունաց … Եգիտ այս Վասակ զայն Վասակ իւր գործակից ի մեծամեծ չարիսն՝ զոր միաբանեցին երկոքեանն". (125, 4)

[65] Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 31 [L. I, 278/9], " … *Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, δραστηρίου ἀνδρός* ". (125, 5)

[66] According to *Ełišē*, IV, p. 93, Vasak Mamikonean, the collaborator of the *marzpan* was at that time (*i.e.* A.D. 451) the *sparapet* of Lower Armenia, and had been given the command of the Roman troops along the Persian frontier, " այրն այն սպարապետ էր Ստորին Հայոց եւ Հաւատարիմ զօրացն Հոռոմոց ի սահմանին Պարսից ". Lower Armenia must obviously mean the Satrapies, and consequently Vasak was one of the Satraps. *Ełišē*'s information about the fifth century does not enhance his reputation as a historian. Imperial armies were stationed neither in the Satrapies nor in Armenia Interior in this period, the defense of the frontier being entrusted to native troops until 529 when Justinian first appointed a *magister militum per Armeniam* and three dukes under his command [*see* next chapter]. Since Ełišē speaks of a *sparapet* of Roman troops in Armenia, whether we take this to be the *magister* himself or one of the dukes, the *History of the Vardanank*' cannot have been composed earlier than 529 when these offices were created. Łazar P'arpeçi does not know this Vasak Mamikonean, consequently the reference to him must be attributed to those additions in the text of Ełišē which are not found in the parallel sections of Łazar's *History*. Might the Vasak of Ełišē be a memory of the historic Vasak, the leader of the Armenian rebels mentioned by Procopius? Procopius places the arrival of Vasak in Constantinople before the Persian campaign of 544. At that time the office of one of the dukes of Armenia was held by a member of the Kamsarakan house, who resided at Kitharizōn. Perhaps, Vasak was also appointed duke because of his knowledge of local affairs, and sent to Martyropolis, which was likewise the station of one of the dukes. Such a detail is interesting for a study of the text of *Ełišē*. (126, 1(

CHAPTER VI

[1] *De Iustiniano codice confirmando, incipit.* [On the reforms of Justinian and his legislative and administrative activity in general, *see* Jones, *LRE*, and Stein, *Bas Empire*, II as well as Rubin, *Iustinian.* For his policy in the East and in Armenia in particular, *see also*, *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 245 sqq. and Toumanoff, *Studies*, 174-175, 194-196, etc.; Manandian, *Feudalism*, pp. 299-303; Sukiasian, *Armenia*, pp. 325-332]. (128, 1)

[2] Procopius, *Pers.*, II, ii, 6 [L. I, 266/7],
" *ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεωτεροποιός τε ὢν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἐρῶν, μένειν τε οὐ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι, γῆν μὲν ἅπασαν ξυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἑκάστην δὲ ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν* ". (128, 2)

[3] *Ibid.*, II, iii, 42-43 [L. I, 282/3],
" *ἡ γῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν διερευνᾶται μυχούς, ἄλλην αὐτῷ τινα οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος* ". (129, 1)

[4] *Nov.*, XXX = *Const.*, XLIV, xi, 2,
" *Καὶ καθαρῶς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπηκόοις (τοῦτο ὅπερ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν) χρήσεται, πρᾶγμα διεσπουδασμένον ἡμῖν καὶ χρημάτων ἀμελῆσαι παρασκευάσαν μεγάλων, καίτοιγε ἐν τοσαύταις δαπάναις καὶ πολέμοις μεγάλοις, δι' ὧν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Πέρσας τε ἄγειν εἰρήνην Βανδίλους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ Μαυρουσίους χειρώσασθαι καὶ Ἀφρικὴν ὅλην καὶ πρὸς γὲ καὶ Σικελίαν κατακτήσασθαι, καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἀγαθὰς ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν νεύσειεν ὁ θεὸς ὧνπερ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι τῶν πρὸς ἑκάτερον ὠκεανον ὁρίων κρατήσαντες ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἀπέβαλον ῥᾳθυμίαις· ...* ". (129, 2)

[5] *CJ*, I, xvii, 1. *Ibid.*, I, xiv, 12 (1), " Quid enim maius, quid sanctius imperiali est maiestate ? ". (130, 1)

[6] *Ibid.*, I, xiv, 12 (5), " ... tam conditor quam interpres legum solus imperator solus iuste existimabitur ". (130, 2)

[7] *Ibid.*, I, xvii, 2, introduction. (130, 3)

[8] *Ibid.*, I, xiv, 12 (1), " ... quis tantae superbiae fastidio tumidus est, ut regalem sensum contemnat, cum et veteris iuris conditores constitutiones, quae ex imperiali decreto processerunt, legis vicem obtinere aperte dilucideque definiunt ? ... (4) vel quis legum aenigmata solvere et omnibus aperire idoneus esse videbitur nisi is, cui soli legis latore esse concessum est ? ". (130, 4)

[9] *Ibid.*, I, xxvii, 2 (1). (130, 5(

[9a] [Vasiliev, " Review ", *ZMNP*, pp. 416-417, objected that Adontz tends to underestimate the activity of Justinian's predecessors and of Anastasius in particular, in various parts of his work. In the present section, Adontz does follow perhaps too closely the evaluations of Procopius, as expressed in the *Buildings*, a work repeatedly tending to shift from history to panegyric.]

[10] Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 16 [L. VII, 182/3],
" *Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐ παρόντων αὐτῇ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, κατανενοηκὼς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὕτως ἀτάκτως τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀεὶ φερομένην, ταύτῃ τε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐάλωτον οὖσαν ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε καθεῖλε, στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἐπέστησε, στρατιωτικῶν τε καταλόγων αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο πλῆθος ἀξιόχρεων ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς ἀντιτάξασθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ διῳκήσατο ὧδε, ...* ". (132, 1)

11 *Ibid.*, III, i, 28-29 [L. VII, 186/7],
"... καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμίους προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν [σατράπαι] ἃ δὴ καταμαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθένδε εὐθύς, δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπέστησε τούτοις· οἷς δὴ ξυνεστήσατο μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους παμπληθεῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ξυμφυλάξουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅρια· ...". (132, 2)

11a [*CJ*, I, xxix, 5. For the text of this decree, *see* Appendix I B.]

12 *Malalas*, pp. 429-430,
"Ἐν δὲ τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατεπέμφθη στρατηλάτης Ἀρμενίας ὀνόματι Ζτίττας. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι χρόνοις οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀρμενία στρατηλάτην, ἀλλὰ δοῦκας καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ κόμητας. δέδωκε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς τῷ αὐτῷ στρατηλάτῃ ἀριθμοὺς στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῶν δύο πραισέντων καὶ ἀνατολῆς. καὶ στρατεύσας ἐντοπίους σκρινιαρίους ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σκρινιαρίους στρατηλατιανοὺς ἀπὸ θείας σάκρας, αἰτησάμενος τὸν βασιλέα αὐτόχθονας στρατεῦσαι, ὡς εἰδότας τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἀρμενίων τῶν δουκῶν καὶ τῶν κομήτων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτῶν, πρῴην μὲν ὄντας καστρισιανοὺς στρατιώτας· ἦσαν γὰρ καταλυθεῖσαι αἱ πρῴην οὖσαι ἀρχαί. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηλάτου ἀνατολῆς ἀριθμοὺς τέσσαρας· καὶ γέγονεν ἔκτοτε μεγάλη παραφυλακὴ Ῥωμαίοις. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ πολεμικός· ὅτις καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώρας τῆς Αὐγούστας ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον, ὀνόματι Κομιτώ, ...". (134, 1)

12a [*Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, p. 271 who speaks of five dukes in 528, at the time when the post of *magister militum per Armeniam* was created, *also* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 195-196.]

13 Justinian himself dated the beginning of his reign from 1 April, 527, *Nov.*, XLVII = *Const.*, LXVI, i, 1, when he was designated as co-emperor by Justin I. According to Procopius, *Anec.*, IX, liii [L. VI, 118/9], this was three days before Easter, which fell on April 4 in 527. He became sole emperor on 1 August of the same year. Güterbock, *Römisch.-Armenien*, p. 40 dates the accession incorrectly in 528. [For the date of the creation of the office of *magister militum per Armeniam*, *see* Jones, *LRE*, I, p. 271, and above, Chapter V, n. 26a]. (135, 1)

14 Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xv, 3 [L. I, 130/1],
["ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὤν, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος. Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ ἐφειστήκει".] (135, 2)

15 *Ibid.*, I, xxi, 2 [L. I, 194/5],
"καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε ... Σίττας δέ, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδογμένον, ὡς φυλάξων τὴν ἑῴαν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. ...".
[Procopius says that Belisarius had been removed from his eastern command, "in order that he might march against the Vandals ..."]. (125, 3)

16 *Ibid.*, I, xxi, 9 [L. I, 196/7],
"Σίττας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς χωρίον μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἦλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχον, ἐς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον". (136, 1)

17 *Malalas*, p. 465, "... καὶ ἐντυχων τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανός, κελεύσας διὰ γραμμάτων Τζίττᾳ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ πραισέντου, ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διάγοντι, καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀνατολὴν πρὸς συμμαχίαν· ὅστις Τζίττας καὶ Περσικὰς χώρας παρέλαβε. παρελθὼν δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρέων εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σαμόσατα ...". *Magister militum praesentis* is the equivalent of Procopius' *Pers.*, I, xv, 3 [L. I, 130/1], "... ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε ...". (136, 2)

[18] *Malalas*, p. 466, " ... *προαγαγὼν δὲ Μοῦνδον ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν στρατηλάτην ἀνατολῆς* " [*Cf.* Rubin, *Iustinian*, p. 289]. (136, 3)

[19] *Malalas*, p. 470. (136, 4)

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 469. (136, 5)

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 472. (136, 6)

[21a] [Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xv, 9-17 [L. I, 130/1-134/5].]

[21b] [*See above*, n. 12.]

[21c] [*Not. dig.*, IX, 49, p. 30. *Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 597-599.]

[22] *Life of St. Theodore*, p. 3, " ... *σὺν στρατηγῷ Οὐρσικίῳ, ἀνδρί γε πάνυ ὄντι περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἱκανώτατον, ὅν διὰ τὸ περίδοξον τῆς μονομαχίας βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔζευξεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώρας τῆς ἀυγούστης, ὀνόματι Κομιτώ* ". It has been thought that Ursicinus was Sittas' Roman name, *Ibid.*, Introduction. It is more likely that his real name was Ursuk, *cf.* Pehl. *asrūk*, " priest ". *Cf.* also Արսուկ-էս a bishop's name given by *Agat'*, cxxi, p. 624, and Ասրիկ [Ասրուկ], the successor of bishop *X*ad, in *FB*, IV, xii [Rubin, *Iustinian*, p. 508 n. 1010, rejects this hypothesis]. (138, 1)

[22a] [*CJ*, I, xxix, 5, *see* Appendix I B.]

[22b] [*Not. dig.*, vi, 31; vii, 49-50, 58, *see* Appendix II A.]

[23] [*See above* n. 12]. *Cedrenus*, I, p. 643 says that the four *numeri* had 1,000 men apiece, a statement which needs verification. (138, 2)

[24] *Theoph. Conf.*, I, p. 175, follows Malalas, but describes the *scriniarii* in his own fashion, " *προεβάλετο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατηλάτην Ἀρμενίας Τζίταν, ἄνδρα πολεμικὸν καὶ ἱκανώτατον. οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ Ἀρμενία στρατηλάτην, ἀλλὰ δοῦκας καὶ κόμητας. ἐστράτευσε δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἀρμενίων πλῆθος, ὡς εἰδότας τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀρμενίας. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς στρατοῦ ἀριθμοὺς τέσσαρας· καὶ γέγονε μεγάλη φυλακὴ καὶ βοήθεια Ῥωμαίων. ἔζευξε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώρας τῆς αὐγούστης, ὀνόματι Κομητώ* ". (139:1)

[25] Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xv, 11 [L. I, 132/3], the Persians were, " ... *οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τρισμυρίους* ", whereas the Romans were, " ... *μόλις ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ ... ἐξικνούμενοι* ". (139, 3)

[26] *Ibid.*, II, xxiv, 16 [L. I, 478/9], " ... *ξυνήει δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας εἰς τρισμυρίους* ". (139, 3)

[26a] [*See above*, Chapter V n. 7a.]

[26b] [*Cf.* Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, pp. 289-291 and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 152, 174, etc.] (139, 4)

[27] *Jos. Styl.*, lii, p. xlv.

[27a] [Procopius, *Aed.*, III, ii, 2-3; iii, 8, 14; iv, 15-20; v, 12; vi, 16-17, 26 [L. VII, 186/7, 192/3, 194/5, 198/9-200/1, 204/5, 208/9, 212/3. *See above* Chapter I, pp. 9-10,14-16, 18-20 and Chapter III, pp. 49-51.]

[28] Procopius, *Aed.*, I, i, 17 [L. VII, 8/9], " *ὡς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ... τοῖς αὐτὰς θεωμένοις ξυμβαίη ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα* ". (140, 1)

[28a] [*Ibid.*, III, ii-vi, L. VII, 187/8-212/3.]

[28b] [*Ibid.*, III, iv, L. VII, 194/5-200/1.]

[28c] [*Ibid.*, III, ii, 11-14, [L. VII, 190/1,

" *Διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε· τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς τὴν γῆν διορύξας, θεμέλιά τε ταύτῃ ἐνθέμενος τείχισμα ᾠκοδομήσατο ἕτερον ἐς ποδῶν πάχος διῆκον τεττάρων, χώραν διαλιπὼν μεταξὺ τετταρων ἑτέρων τὸ εὖρος, ἐς ὕψος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀναστήσας ποδῶν εἴκοσιν, ἴσον τῷ προτέρῳ παντάπασιν ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ λίθους τε καὶ τίτανον ἐς χῶρον τὸν μεταξὺ τείχους ἑκατέρου ἐμβεβλημένος ἐς μίαν τινα οἰκοδομίαν δυοκαίδεκα τὸ πάχος ποδῶν*

τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνευται. ὕπερθέν τε κατὰ πάχος τὸ αὐτὸ, μάλιστα ἐς ὕψος τοσοῦτον ἐντέθεικεν, ὅσον ξυνέβαινε τὸ πρότερον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ προτείχισμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον τῇ πόλει δεδημιούργηκε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁπλῶς ἅπαντα οἷς δὴ πόλεως ὀχύρωμα διασώζεται".]

28d [*Ibid.*, III, iii, 6, [L. VII, 192/3],

"*βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔν τε τῷ Φεισὼν κἀν τοῖς στενωποῖς ὀχυρώματά τε ἀξιοθέατα καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἀνανταγώνιστον καταστησάμενος, ἄβατον βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι*".]

28e [*Ibid.*, III, iii, 7-8, [L. VII, 192/3],]

"*Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κιθαρίζων χωρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ Ἀσθιανίνης τῆς καλουμένης ἐστί, φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὂν ἐν χώρῳ λοφώδει ὑπερφυές τε καὶ δαιμονίως ἄμαχον κατεστήσατο· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ διαρκὲς ὕδωρ ἐσαγαγὼν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῇδε ᾠκημένοις ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ πεποιημένος, τὸν ἕτερον δοῦκα, ᾗπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ξὺν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρᾷ ἱκανωτάτῃ ἱδρύσατο. ταύτῃ τε τοῖς τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἔθνεσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο*".

Ibid., III, iii, 14, [L. VII, 194/5],

"*χωρίον ἦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς χώρας Ἀρταλέσων ὄνομα. τοῦτο τείχει ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριόν τε ἀμαχώτατον ἐξειργάσατο καὶ στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους τῇδε ἱδρύσατο, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἀεὶ ἐφεστάναι διώρισεν. ὅνπερ δοῦκα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ*".

28f [*Ibid.*, III, v, 2, [L. VII, 200/1],

"*ἡνίκα Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὴν Ἀρσάκου ἐπικράτειαν ἔσχεν, ᾗπέρ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, φρούριον ἐπί τινος τῶν λόφων ᾠκοδομήσατο τοῖς προσιοῦσιν εὐάλωτον, ὃ δὴ Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπωνόμασε*". *Cf.* Toumanoff, *CMH*, IV, 1, p. 598 n. 1; Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 64-70.]

28g [Procopius, *Pers.*, I, x, 19, [L. I, 82/3], "*ἡ κώμη μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, πόλεως δὲ ἀξίωμα μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως λαβοῦσα ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει*". *Cf.* Manandian, *Trade*, p. 88 and Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 193 n. 209.]

28h [Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iv, 4-12, [L. VII, 200/1-204/5],

"*Ἀναστάσιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο, τὸν λόφον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιημένος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ φρούριον τὸ Θεοδοσίου εἱστήκει. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀφῆκεν, ἐξίτηλον δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσίου ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ πρότερον οἰκιστοῦ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ νεοχμοῦσθαι μὲν τὰ καθωμιλημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς ἀεὶ πέφυκεν, ὀνομάτων δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν μεθίεσθαι οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τεῖχος εὐρύνετο μὲν ἱκανώτατα, οὐ καταλόγον δὲ τοῦ εὔρους ἀνεῖχε. τὸ γὰρ ὕψος αὐτῷ ἐς τριάκοντα ἐξικνεῖτο μάλιστα πόδας· ταύτῃ τε πολεμίοις τειχομαχοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐγεγόνει λίαν εὐάλωτον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίμαχον. οὔτε γὰρ προτείχισμα οὔτε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἤμυνεν. ἀλλα καὶ χῶρός τις ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐπεμβαίνων τῇ πόλει τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπανειστήκαι. διο δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀντεμηχανήσατο τάδε. πρῶτα μὲν τάφρον ὡς βαθυτάτην ἐν κύκλῳ ὀρύξας, χαράδραις αὐτὴν ὀρῶν ἀποτόμων ἐμφερεστάτην εἰργάσατο. ἔπειτα δὲ χῶρον τὸν ὑπερπεφυκότα κατατεμὼν ἔς τε ἀνεκβάτους κρημνοὺς καὶ σήραγγας ἀδιεξόδους μετεστήσατο τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν· ὅπως δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὑψηλόν τε εἴη διαφερόντως καὶ ὅλως ἀνανταγώνιστον, εἴ τις προσίοι, προσεπετεχνήσατο ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Δάρας εἰργάσατο. τὰς γὰρ ἐπάλξεις ἀποσφίγξας ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα ὅσον ἐνθένδε βάλλειν τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας δυνατὰ εἶναι, ἔμβολόν τε αὐταῖς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς ἐν περιδρόμῳ περιελίξας, ἐντέθεικεν ἐμπείρως ἐπάλξεις ἑτέρας, προτειχίσματί τε αὐτὸ περιβαλὼν κύκλῳ ἐμφερέστατον τῷ ἐν πόλει Δάρας περιβόλῳ πεποίηται, πύργον ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐχυρὸν τεκτηνάμενος. οὗ δὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἁπάσας καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις στρατηγὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καταστησάμενος κρείσσους τοὺς Ἀρμενίους διεπράξατο τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι ἢ δεδιέναι τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον*"]

28i [*Ibid.*, III, v, 13-15, [L. VII, 204/5],

Ἐς μέντοι τὰ Βιζανὰ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἴργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. κεῖται μὲν

ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τὸ χωρίον, πεδία τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἱππήλατά ἐστιν, ὕδατος δὲ σηπεδόνες πολλαὶ ξυνισταμένου ἐνταῦθά εἰσι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιμαχώτατον, τοῖς δὲ οἰκήτορσι λοιμωδέστατον αὐτὸ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ὧν δὴ ἕνδεκα τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὑπεριδὼν ἑτέρωθι πόλιν ἐδείματο αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον, ἀξιολογωτάτην τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὁλῶς ἐν χωρίῳ Τζουμινᾷ καλουμένῳ, ὅπερ σημείοις μὲν τρισὶ Βιζανῶν διέχει, ἐν κρημνώδει δὲ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐξίας ἀέρων εὖ ἔχει ".]

28j [*Nov.*, XXXI, 1.]

28k [On Bizana-Leontopolis-Justinianopolis, *see* Jones, *CREP*, pp. 225-226, Stein, *Bas-Empire*, p. 290 n. 1, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 17-19, 93-94, and Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 65, 83. The village of Vižan on the Kara-su can no longer be found in *G 46*, though it is given in both Kiepert, *Karte* B, VI and Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 249, but the locality named Vican is still indicated in the corresponding position on the *USAFM* 300 A i.]

29 From the verb *վիժել* [" to pour, to flood "]. The form *τὰ Βιζανά* given by Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iv, 13 [L. VII, 198/9], " *ἐν Βιζανοῖς* " corresponds to the Armenian *վիժան—ք*, whereas *Βίζανις* = *վիժան*. The modern pronunciation is *վիժան* and not *վժան* as it is given by Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 91 [and Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 65, 83]. Bizana is also mentioned in the *Nova Tactica*, *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 78 as one of the eparchies of the metropolis of Trapezos, " *ὁ (θρόνος) Βιζάνων*. The construction here seems to indicate a nominative or the genitive from *Βιζάνα*. In the same List [*Ibid.*, p. 82] we also find the city of *Βαρζάνισσα* next to *Κελιτζινή* (= Ekelesenē) in the metropolitanate of Kamacha, which is easily confused with Bizana. We prefer the reading *Γαρζανίσσα* (now Gercanis) above Erzincan. This city cannot be identified with Bizana since the latter was listed in the metropolitanate of Trapezos. [*Cf.* Appendix II G, for the text of the *Nova Tactica*. The reading Garzanissa *pro* Barzanissa is not suggested by Gelzer in his edition of the *Nova Tactica*, *loc. cit.*, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 71, 75, identifies Barzanissēs with Vardenik'.] (145, 1)

30 The Greek *-τζ-* is a rendering of the palatal *dzh*. Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 101, gives the form *ճիմին* which is the western pronunciation corresponding to the *Ջիմին* of the eastern pronunciation. *Cf.* *Τζανοί* and *ճանի—ք*. [On Tzumina, *see*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 19, 199.] (145, 2)

31 *Mansi*, IX, p. 391, Gregory of Justinianopolis at the Council of 553. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 613, Theodore, ep., " *'Εκελενζίνης ἤτοι 'Ιουστινιανουπόλεως* " at the Sixth Œcumenical Council. (145, 3)

31a [Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iv, 2-5 [L. VII, 194/5-196/7],

" *Σάταλα πόλις ἐπὶ σφαλερᾶς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλπίδος εἱστήκει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων τῆς γῆς ὀλίγῳ διέχει, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χθαμαλῷ κεῖται, λόφοις τε πολλοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἐπανεστηκόσιν ὑπόκειται, περιβόλων τε αὐτῇ διὰ ταῦτα ἔδει τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀμηχάνων ἐλεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιαύτῃ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οὔσῃ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος σφαλερώτερα ἦν, φαύλως τε ἀρχὴν τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ παρέργως πεποιημένου καὶ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἤδη τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἑκασταχοῦ διερρωγότος. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο περιελὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅλον, περίβολον ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα νέον, ὑψηλὸν μὲν ὅσον ὑπερπεφυκέναι τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν λόφους δοκεῖν, εὐρυνόμενον δὲ ὅσον ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπανεστηκέναι τό γε τοῦ ὕψους ὑπέρογκον. καὶ προτείχισμα δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον λόγου πηξάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε. καὶ φρούριον δὲ Σατάλων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἐχυρὸν ἄγαν ἐν χώρᾳ 'Οσροηνῶν καλουμένῃ ᾠκοδομήσατο* ".]

32 *Cf.* *MX*, II, iv, " *···բարձրաւանդակի միոջ ըլրով քառագագաթնիւ, որ այժմ ասի Կողոնիայ* ". (146, 1)

32a [Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iv, 7-11 [L. VII, 196/7-198/9],

"*Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν ἀκρωνυχίᾳ λόφου κατακρήμνου πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ὃ δὴ Πομπήιος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐξελὼν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γεγονὼς ἐκρατύνατό τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ Κολώνειαν ἐπωνόμασε· καὶ τοῦτο οὖν χρόνῳ πεπονηκὸς τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνεσώσατο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. καὶ χρήματα μέντοι προέμενος ἀνάριθμα τοῖς τῇδε ᾠκημένοις, ἐρύματα ἑκασταχοῦ διεπράξατο ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἀγροῖς ἢ νέα δείμασθαι, ἢ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σαθρὰ γεγονότα. ὥστε ἅπαντα σχεδόν τι τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ἔργα ὄντα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ φρούρια ᾠκοδομήσατο τό τε Βαιβερδὼν καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἄρεων. καὶ τὸ Λυσίορμον ἀνενεώσατο πεπονηκὸς ἤδη σὺν τῷ Λυταραριζών. ἔν τε χωρίῳ, ὅπερ Γερμανοῦ Φοσσᾶτον, φρούριον ἐδείματο νέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σεβαστείας καὶ Νικοπόλεως τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις πόλεων τὰ τείχη, ἐπεὶ καταπεσεῖσθαι πάντα ἔμελλον, τεταλαιπωρημένα τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος πεποίηται νέα*".]

32b [*Ibid.*, III, iv, 15-20 [L. VII, 198/9-200/1],

"*Ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν μικροῖς καλουμένοις οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ λόχος Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἵδρυτο. Μελιτηνὴ μὲν τὸ χωρίον, λεγεὼν δὲ ὁ λόχος ἐπωνομάζετο. ἐνταῦθά πῃ ἔρυμα ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐπὶ χώρας ὑπτίας ἐδείμαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀποχρώντως ἐς καταλύσεις ἔχον καὶ ὅπως σφίσι τὰ σημεῖα τῇδε ἐναποκείσονται. μετὰ δὲ Τραϊανῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι δεδογμένον, ἐς πόλεώς τε ἀξίωμα ὁ χῶρος ἀφῖκται καὶ μητρόπολις κατέστη τῷ ἔθνει. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Μελιτηνῶν πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. ἐπεί τε ἐρύματος ἐντὸς ἐνοικήσασθαι οὐκέτι εἶχον (ἐς γὰρ ὀλίγον τινα ξυνῄει χῶρον, ἧπέρ μοι εἴρηται) ἱδρύσαντο ἐν τῷ ταύτης πεδίῳ, ἵνα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποίηται καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν καταγώγια καὶ τήν τε ἀγοράν ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐμπολημάτων πωλητήριά ἐστι, τάς τε τῆς πόλεως ἀγυιας πάσας καὶ στοὰς καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ θέατρα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλεως μεγάλης ἐς κόσμον διήκει. τῷ τε τρόπῳ τούτῳ Μελιτηνὴν ἀτείχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι. Ἀναστάσιος μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς αὐτὴν ξυμπασὰν τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἐγκεχείρηκεν· οὔπω μέντοι τὸ βούλευμα ἀποτελέσας τὸν βίον συνεμετρήσατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν βεβαιότατα κατατειχισάμενος μέγα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ὀχύρωνά τε καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα Μελιτηνὴν ἀπειργάσατο*".]

32c [*Ibid.*, III, iv, 12-14 [L. VII, 198/9],

"*... ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Θεοδοσιουπόλει νεὼν τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, καὶ μοναστήρια ἔν τε χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Πέτριος, κἀν τῷ Κουκαρίζων ἀνενεώσατο. ἔν τε Νικοπόλει τὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καλούμενον μοναστήριον, καὶ ἱερον Γεωργίῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζανοῖς ἐδείματο. τῆς τε Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα μοναστήριον ἀνενεώσατο τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων ἐπικαλούμενον*".]

33 *Cuinet*, I, p. 134 gives Kokiris among the 14 "*nahiés*" of the *kaza* of Bayburt. This is clearly the historic Kukarizōn which is also known to Xorenaçi, *MX*, II, lxv, as the birthplace of bishop Hawuk, "*Հաւուկ ի Կուկայառիճոյ*". Unfortunately *Cuinet* does not indicate the location of Kokaris on his map. [*Cf.* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 380, 442. *Cuinet* lists Kokiris between "Khart" and "Aginsor". Although both Hart and Ağinsos can be found both on Kiepert, *Karte*, B VI and *USAFM* 324 C IV, Kokaris cannot be found unless it is to be identified with Gögçeli, *G 46*, p. 242 (8)]. (147, 1)

34 There is probably no foundation for the identification of *Λυταραρίζων* with *Լուսաթառիճ* which stood in Armenia IV at the junction of the Arsanias and the Euphrates, according to the *Arm. Geogr.*, [p. 30/41. *Cf.* Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 54]. (147, 2)

[35] " *ὁ Κεραμέων* " according to the *Nova Tactica* of the X-XI C. in *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 78. Near Krom is found Rumluk, which is equated by *Cuinet*, I, p. 127 with " Lérion ", " *ὁ Λερίου* " likewise an episcopal see in the metropolitanate of Trapezos [*Georg. Cypr.*, p. 78. Krom can be found in Kiepert *Karte*, B V, but not on modern maps or gazetteers, although the Korum deresi evidently preserves the name of the locality, *G 46*, p. 420 and *USAFM* 324 C IV. Rumluk does not appear in the modern topography, but Leri is still found on the *USAFM* 324 C IV even though it is not listed in *G 46*. On both these bishoprics *see*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 54 and nn. 1, 6-8·]

(148, 1)

[36] *MX*, III, lix, " *Անատոլեայ զօրավարի ընկալեալ զհրամանն արքունի, եկեալ յաշխարհս մեր և շրջեալ ընդ բազում կողմանս մեր, հաճի ի գաւառին Կարնոյ իբրեւ ի միջոցի շինել զքաղաքն արդաւանդահող, շատաջուր և բերրի. իբր միջոց վարկուցեալ զվայրսն, ոչ կարի ի բացեայ ի տեղեացն, ուր Եփրատայ մասինն ինչ բղխեն աղբեւրք ականց, եւ հանդարտ գնացիւք յառաջացեալ ծովանան մօրաբար երեւութիւք. յորում անբաւութիւնք ձկանց և զանազան հաւուց ճարակաւորաց, յորոց ի ձուոց միայն կերակրեալ լինէին բնակիչքն : Եւ զեզերբ մօրին շամբք և բազմութիւն եղեգանց. և դաշտքն ունին զթանձրութիւն խոտոց և զքաջաբերութիւն սերմանաւոր պտղոց : Եւ լերինքն լի են երէովք կճղակաբաշխիւք և որոճայնովք. նա և զանաւուն պաճարս բազմացուցանեն, մեծահասակս, քաջամարմինս և յոյրս ցուցանեն համակեալս ի գիրութեան :*

Եւ առ ստորոտով մի գեղեցկանիստ լերինն գտեալ բազում աղբեւրս ականակիտս եւ մանունս բղխեալ, անդ ետեղագրեաց զքաղաքն. զորով շրջափակեալ խոր փոսիւ, անդնդալիր հաստեաց զհիմունս պատուարին. և ի վերայ բարձրաբերձ աշտարակս ահագինս շինեաց յորոց զառաջինն Թէոդոս անուանեաց ի պատիւ Թէոդոսի : Եւ ի նմանէ և անդր շինեաց աշտարակս ժայրաւորս իբրեւ զնաւացուկս, և առանցս գոգաւոր խորշիւք ՝որք ընդդէմ հային լերինն : Սապէս եւ ընդդէմ դաշտին հիւսիսոյ. իսկ ընդդէմ արեւելից և արևմտից կանգնեաց աշտարակս բոլորաձեւս : Եւ ի մէջ քաղաքին ի բարձրաւանդակ վայրի մթերանոցս բազմապատիկս շինեաց, և Աւգոստիոն անուանեաց ի պատիւ Աւգոստոսի : Եւ այլ ջուրս ընդ յոլով տեղիս ածեալ մտոյց անյայտ գնացիւք : Եւ ելից զինու եւ պահապան գնդիւք զքաղաքն, և անուանեաց Թէոդուպօլիս, զի յիշատակաւ քաղաքին անմահ լիցի անունն » :

[For the whole discussion of Karin-Theodosiopolis, *see* in particular, Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 87-90, *also above* nn. 28g-h].

(148, 2)

[37] " *Disputation* ", *HA*, (May, 1903), p. 153, " ··· *Թագաւորն Թէոդոս ··· խորհուրդ ի մէջ առեալ կամեցաւ շինել քաղաքս երկուս. և զնոսա կացուցեալ վերակացու շինուածոյ քաղաքին, Զի տեսանէր զնոսա յոյժ իմաստունս եւ հանճարեղս : և առաքեաց զնոսա ի Հայք շինել զկարնո քաղաք : և յիւրոց պաշտաւնէիցն ի կողմն Հայոց աշխարհին յամի'թ զոր էր շինել զնա Հաւրն՝ աբգարու թագաւորին Հայոց : Իսկ դաւիթ և մովսէս որպէս զարս քաջս անդադար սկիզբն արարին շինել զքաղաքն կարնո : Եւ հրաման թագաւորին սպանմյր և խրատ նոցա զօրանայր, և ահաւոր շինուածով երթար քաղաքն և զորանայր : և կանգնեցին բուրգն, խոսրովաեն և անահի մեքենաից : և պարիսպ գ. ի վերայ միոյ հիման. քերեալ և պեղեալ զհողերից պարսպին զոր ի միջին ևե'թ կայր : Պեղեալ հրամայեցին մինչև ի պորտ քաղաքին. և վէմս անտաշս խորագոյնս կրով զերեսս անդնդոց փախեցին, և ի վերայ միոյ հիման կանգնեցին երիս պա—*

րիսպս ։ և ի ներքս ի կողմ քաղաքին ստորճանս երկերիւրս մի առ միով յետս յետս զի մի գայթագղեսցի պարիսպն ի փորողացն ։ Նոյնպէս և ի դրուց կուսէ պարըսպին ստորճանս երկերիւր մի առ միով յետս յետս զի անահ լիցի ի փորողաց թշնամեաց քաղաքին, և այլ հնարս հնարեցան, զի թէ գուցէ գայցեն թշնամիք և նեղեսցեն զքաղաքն՝ և մուտ և ոչ տան առնել. Արարին ներքնափոր ի մէջ քաղաքին ։ Արարին հնարս փորել ներքս գետնոտ՝ խորագոյն՝ և գնացեալ ի մէջ դաշտին, ճաշոյ մի գնաց ճանապարհ ի տեղին որ ժողովք ջրոցն է և շամբ յոյժ ։ զի եթէ նեղեսցէ քաղաքն կարող են բերել անասնոց խոտ և այրելոյ եղեգն. և թշնամիքն զայս ոչ կարասցեն իմանալ ։ և ի միւս կողմ քաղաքին նոյնպէս գետնափոր փակաց մեծամեծ վիմաւք մինչև ի լեառն որ կոչի այծուպտկունք. եթէ կարիք հասանիցեն հեծելո. կարող են բերել ձեաւք և հեծելաւք մտանել ի քաղաքն առանց գիտելոյ թշնամեացն ։ Եւ վասն ջրոցն կարի գեղեցիկ է և վայելուչ. զի ոչ ոք է ի քաղաքին, ոչ հարուստ և ոչ աղխատ որ ոչ ունի ջուրս անոյշս բերեալ զերեսաւք անդընդոց. ապարանք և աշտարակք գեղեցկաշէնս և սրբագործս. փողոցք և հրապարակք սպանդանոցք և վաճա— ռանոցք սրբատեսիլս ։ եկեղեցիք հրաշալիք տեսողացն. և դրունք քաղաքին բարձրասեմս և լայնանիստ և կատարեալ պարսպաւ վայելուչս, և բուրքն ամենայն խսսրովանեք". (149, 1)

[38] Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xvii, 6-11 [L. I, 146/7],

" *ὁ δὲ δὴ Εὐφράτης φέρεται μὲν κατ' ἀρχας ἐπὶ τινα χῶρον ὀλίγον, εὐθὺς δὲ προϊὼν ἀφανίζεται, οὐχ ὑπόγειος μέντοι γινόμενος, ἀλλά τί οἱ ξυμβαῖνον θαυμάσιον οἷον. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος τέλμα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαθὺ γίνεται, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ εἴκοσι· καὶ καλάμων φύεται πολύ τι χρῆμα ἐν τῷ πηλῷ τούτῳ. ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρός τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὥστε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδεν ἄλλο δοκεῖν ἢ ἤπειρον εἶναι. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει οὐδὲν δεδιότας πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἅμαξαι παρίασιν ἐνθένδε πολλαὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ, ἀλλ' αὐδεν τὸ παράπαν ἰσχύουσι κινεῖν τι ἢ ἐξελέγχειν τοῦ τέλματος. καίουσι δὲ τοὺς καλάμους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ τὰς ὁδοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν εἴργεσθαι, καί ποτε πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος μέχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ῥιζῶν ἔσχατα τὸ πῦρ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τετύχηκε, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι· χρόνου δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὖθις οὐ πολλοῦ ξυμφυεὶς ἀπέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. ἐνθένδε τε ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν* ".

Procopius also locates the sources of the Tigris near Theodosiopolis, having evidently confused it with the Araxes [*Ibid.*, I, xvii, 4, L. I, 144/5]. (150, 1)

[39] *MX*, III, lix. [*See above*, n. 36 for the text]. (150, 2)

[40] The etymology of the word *շամբ* is unknown. The Turkish name is derived from ساز " reed "; سازلق or سازگول mean " the place of reeds ", and " reed lake ". According to *Yakovb Karneçi*, p. 578, the *šamb* lay half-a-day's journey from the city. [*Cf.* Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 73 (2), 94]. (150, 3)

[41] According to the information of Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 66. (151, 1)

[42] Maj. Gen. S. Dukhovskiĭ, " The Russians in Erzerum in 1878 ", *Voennyĭ Sbornik* (1878), p. 13. (151, 2)

[43] *Yakovb Karneçi*, p. 569. (151, 3)

[44] Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 59. This is the third case of a mountain called Gohanam: near Erzincan, in Sper, and here. The ancient name Այծպտկունք was apparently replaced by Ճողալար. According to Inčičean, Գոհանամ is a popular name for any high or steep mountain. (151, 4)

[45] [*See above*, nn. 28g-h, and 36-7, for the relevant texts.] (152, 1)

45a [*See above* pp. 113-114 and n. 28c.]

46 According to *Asolik*, II, v, p. 132 the city was taken in the VIIIth century by Constantine V, " *ի սորա աւուրս կայսրն Կոստանդին որդի Լեւոնի ելալ յարեւելս՝ առնու զքաղաքն Կարնոյ, և կործանեաց զպարիսպ նորա և բացեալ զտուն գանձուցն և զընակիչս քաղաքին զՍառակինոսն նոցին ընչիւք տարեալ յաշխարհն Յունաց* ": *Ibid.*, II, viii, p. 179. In the Xth century, John I, " *···զՋմշկիկ զօրու ծանու ի կողմանս Կարնոյ : ··· պատառեաց զխանդակ քաղաքին և փլոյց զբարձրաբերձ աշտարակս նորա և էառ զքաղաքն :* " (152, 2)

47 Many travellers have visited and described Erzurum. The best description of the city is given by Father Inčičean, *Geography*, pp. 65 sqq., the next is by K. Koch, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge* (Weimar, 1846), II, pp. 281 sqq. We have relied her primarily on Koch. Inčičean gives 72 towers as against 62 in Koch, and Lynch, [*Armenia*, II, p. 210. Lynch also gives an extensive description of the city, *Ibid.*, pp. 198-224.] (153, 1)

48 Koch, *Reise*, II, 287, " Die grossartigen Uberreste einer Ringmauer ... scheinen mir selbst " alter zu sein, als die der Festung (und halten 6 Fuss im Durchmessen, lagen aber in Trummer. Hinter ist ein ausgefüllter Wall) ". (153, 2)

48a [*See above* n. 32c.]

48b [*See above* nn. 32c and 48.]

48c [*See above* n. 28h.]

49 If we read " *Թէոդոսի* (instead of *Թէոդոս*) *անուանեաց···* ". [*See above* n. 36 for the context]. (154, 1)

50 *Yakovb Karneçi*, pp. 548-9 makes use of the *Legend* in his description of Theodosiopolis. Unfortunately he described the " χosrovian towers " by means of a word whose meaning is not entirely clear, " *պուրճքն խոսրովային է, որ է չեշխանայ* ". *Ibid.*, p. 563, ششخانه = a type of gun, is apparently used in the sense of an arsenal. The citadel contains an arsenal جبه خانه or powder cellar next to a tall tower, and Yakovb tries to identify the " χosrovian tower " with the arsenal. The present storehouses in the citadel are related to those called " *Augusteon* " by *X*orenaçi [*See above* n. 36]. Procopius, *Aed.*, I, ii, 1 [L. VII, 32/3] gives the name *Augustéon* to a market-place or square, " ... καλοῦσι δὲ ’Αυγουσταῖον τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι ". *Cf. Chron Pasch.*, p. 529, but the meaning of the term was not exhausted by this explanation, it could also have the sense given to it by *X*orenaçi. On the meaning of the word Augusteon, *see*, Du Cange, *Familles byzantines*, II, p. 70. (154, 2)

51 According to Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 69 there are two churches dedicated to the Theotokos in the suburbs of the city not far from each other. One is called the upper church, and the other one the lower. The first is also called " *միաբան Ածածին, սակս ի սմա լինելոյ միաբանութիւն Եղրի կաթուղիկոսի ընդ յունաց* ". *Yakovb Karneçi*, speaks of only one church, *միաբան Ս. Ածածին*, pp. 550, 555. The explanation given seems improbable, it is probable that the foundation of a second church bearing the same name, if it is not of recent date, was due to confessional quarrels between Armenians of the National and Imperialist parties. (155, 1)

52 Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 145. [*Manuel*, I, p. 197 sqq.]. (155, 2)

53 Texier and Pullan, *L'architecture byzantine* (London, 1864). [Diehl, *Manuel*, I, pp. 197-200]. (155, 3)

54 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, xiii, 17-18 [L. I, 376/7]. (156, 1)

55 Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 185. (156, 2)

CHAPTER VII

[a] [*Nov.* XXI, title and incipit. The text of the entire *Novella* is given in Appendix I F. *See* Chapter VI, n. 1, for additional bibliography on the reforms of Justinian.]

[1] *Nov.* VIII = *Const.* XVI. The entire text of this *Novella* is given in Appendix I D. (158, 1)

[1a] [*Ibid.*, Preface, 1.]

[2] Procopius, *Anec.*, xxvi, 1-6 [L. V, i, 242/3-244/5]. According to this tale, even Justinian did not refuse such a gift and accepted 30 *centenaria* from the Prefect, John of Cappadocia.

[3] *Nov.* VIII, Preface, 1. (160, 1)

[4] *Idem.* (161, 1)

[5] *Nov.* VIII, " *Notitia* " xxii, xxiii, xxvi, xliii. [*See* Appendix I for the relevant texts]. The payments were made to the imperial household (*in sacro cubiculo*), to the first secretary (*primicerio ... tribunorum notariorum*), to his assistant (*eius adiutori*), as well as to the chancery of the praetorian prefect (*officio praef. praet.*). The first class paid respectively 9, 24, 3, and 40 *solidi*; the second, 9, 15, 3, and 36. [On *suffragium* and Justinian's attempt to abolish this practice, *see* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 279, 306-307, and particularly 391-401.] (161, 2)

[5a] [*Nov.* XVII.]

[6] *Nov.* VIII, ii-v. [*See* Appendix I D]. (162, 1)

[7] *Nov.* XXIV, " *Περὶ τοῦ πραίτωρος Πισιδίας* ", Preface and i. (162, 2)

[8] *Nov.* XXIX, " *Περὶ τοῦ πραίτωρος Παφλαγονίας* ". (163, 1)

[9] *Nov.* XXX, " *Περὶ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου Καππαδοκίας* ". (163, 2)

[10] *Nov.* XXVIII, " *Περὶ τοῦ μοδεράτωρος Ἑλενοπόντου* ". (163, 3)

[11] *Nov.* XXIV, " Praetor Pisidiae "; *Nov.* XXV, " Praetor Lycaoniae "; *Nov.* XXVII, " Comes Isauriae "; *Nov.* CII, " Moderator Arabiae "; *Nov.* CIII, " Proconsul Palestinae "; *Nov.* CIV, " Praetor Siciliae ". (163, 4)

[12] Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprocess*, III, No. 131, p. 44. [*Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, xiv, pp. 470-522], *also* p. 404. (163, 5)

[13] *Nov.* XV, " *Περὶ τῶν ἐκδίκων* ", Preface. [*Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 144-145, 279-280, 479-480, 499, 726-727, 758-759]. (164, 1)

[14] *CJ*, I, lv, 1, [" *Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. Senecae defensori.* Si quis de tenuioribus ac minuscularíis rebus interpellandum te esse crediderit, in minoribus causis, id est usque ad quinquaginta solidorum summam, acta iudicalia conficias, scilicet ut, si quando quis vel debitum iustum vel servum ... vel quod ultra delegationem dederit postulaverit, vel quodlibet huiusmodi, tua disceptatione restituas. Ceteras vero, quae dignae forensi magnitudine videbuntur, ordinario insinuato rectori. *D. v k. Iul. Tyrici Valentiniano et Valente AA. conss.* (a. 365)]. (164, 2)

[15] *Nov.* XV, iii, 2, from 17 July, 535,

" *Δικάζειν τε ταῖς δίκαις ἁπάσαις ταῖς χρηματικαῖς μέχρι χρυσῶν τριακοσίων· οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἕλκειν τοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπευθύνους παρὰ τοῖς λαμπροτάτοις τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχουσιν, εἴπερ εἴσω τῆς εἰρημένης τῶν τριακοσίων νομισμάτων ποσότητος ἡ δίκη καθεστήκοι* ". (164, 3)

[16] The earliest references are found in *Novellae* XXIV and XXV from 18 May, 535. The lost *Novella* was not yet known on 15 April of the same year, since there is no reference to the legal competence of the counts created in Phrygia and Galatia in the *Novella*

dealing with their appointment, [*Nov.* VIII, ii, iii]. The lost *Novella* was probably promulgated, therefore, between 15 April and 18 May, 535. After some time, more precisely in January of 536, appeared *Novella* XXIII, " De appellationibus ... " in which the author complains, *Ibid.*, iii, " evenit, ut super minimis causis maximi nostri iudices inquietentur et homines propter minimas causas magnis fatigentur dispensiis, ut forsitan totius litis aestimatio ad sumptus iudicales non sufficeret ". Thereafter, appeals on sums less than ten pounds of gold, were to be taken not to the capital but to the nearest *spectabilis* court. Since the provincial reform was still incomplete in 535, appeals from the Armenian provinces went to the *Moderator* of Helenopontus, as the nearest official with the rank of *spectabilis* [*Cf. Nov.* XXVIII, viii, " *Dat. xvii. kal. Aug. CP Belisario v.c. cons.* "]. The limit was ten pounds of gold or 720 *solidi* instead of the normal 500 *solidi*, a fact to be explained either through a temporary devaluation of the *solidus*, or because legal expenses were higher in certain provinces and the sum had consequently been intentionally increased. [*Cf.* Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 280-282, 483, 506]. (164, 4)

16a [The entire text of this *Novella* will be found in Appendix I G.]

16b [*Nov.* XXVIII = *Const.*, XXXI, " *Dat. xvii k. Aug. CP Belisario v.c. cons.* ".]

17 *Ibid.*, i, " ... καὶ ὅτι κάλλιον ἂν εἴη τὰς χώρας ἐξ ὀνομάτων Χριστιανικῶν τε καὶ βασιλικῶν μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἐκ πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς γνωριζομένου σημαίνεσθαι ". (172,1)

18 *Ibid.*, Preface. Leontopolis should not be confused with the city of the same name found in Armenia [*Cf. above*, Chapter VI, n. 50]. Leontopolis of Helenopontus was also called Zalichos, *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 14, " Ζάλιχος ἤτοι Λεοντόπολις ". (172, 2)

18a [On the creation of the four Armenias, *see* Jones, *LRE*, I, 280-282, Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 174, etc.]

19 *Nov.* XX = *Const.* XLVI, iii. [For the text, *see* Appendix I E]. (173, 1)

20 *Nov.* VIII = *Const.* XVI, "Notitia", xxiii. [For the text, *see* Appendix I D]. (173, 2)

20a [*See above*, Chapter VI, n. 26.b]

21 We should note here that Procopius, *Aed.*, III, v, 15 [L. VII, 204/5] mentions Iustinianopolis at a time when he presumably had no knowledge of Justinian's reform of 536. (174, 1)

22 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 4-5 [L. I, 270/1],
" ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν (τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην) ... γνώμῃ βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τον Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν αὐτός ". (174, 2)

22a [*Nov.* XX, iii, " ... νῦν οὐδεν αὐτῇ προsθέντες ... ".]

22b [*Nov.* XXVIII, Preface.]

23 Editor's note to *Const.*, XLV, Teubner ed., I, 277. (175, 1)

23a [Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii [L. I, 270/1-286/7]. *Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 175 n. 109.]

23b [*Nov.* XXXI, i, 3.]

24 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii, 5-7 [L. I, 270/1-272/3],
" πονηρὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὅ τι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ". (176, 1)

25 [Pisidia, *Nov.* XXIV, vi; Lykaonia, *Nov.* XXV, Epilogue; Thrace, *Nov.* XXVI, v, 1; Isauria, *Nov.* XXVII, Epilogue; *cf.* Thomas, *Nov.* XXXI, i, 2]. Only the *Moderator* of Helenopontus received a trifle more, *i.e.*, 725 *solidi* [*Nov.* XXVIII, iii]. In contrast to the other officials, the proconsul of Cappadocia received 20 pounds of gold [*Nov.* XXX, vi, 2]. This province contained vast Imperial estates, ταμειακὴ κτῆσις and, the proconsul also administered them and their revenue in addition to his regular duties,

and deposited 50 pounds of gold for the private expenses of the emperor and the empress. *Nov.* XXX = *Const.* XLIV, vi, 1. This circumstance explains the unusually high salary of this proconsul. (177, 1)

26 Is this to be explained by the reduced size of the *officium*, or by a mistake in the text? The figures given are not always accurate in other *Novellae*, as evidenced by the corrections found in the new Teubner edition. (177, 2)

27 *Nov.* XXV = *Const.* XXVI, i. *Cf.* Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civil-process*, III, No. 142, p. 137. (177, 3)

28 *Nov.* XXX, vi, " *ὄχημα τε ἐξ ἀργύρου και τέλεκνν και ῥάβδους ἔχων ...* ". *Nov.*XXIV., iv, " *δίφρον τε ἐξ ἀργύρου ... καὶ ῥάβδους ...* ". (177, 4)

28a [*See above* Chapter VI, n. 26b.]

28b Procopius, *Pers.*, II, xxx, 5, [L. I, 540/1],

" *οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐδείματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἦρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ ἔδοξεν εἶναι* ". (178, 1)

29 *Idem.*, " *... νεανίας τις Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὅνπερ Γούζην ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν* ". *Goth.*, IV [VIII], viii, 5 [L. V, 122/3], " *καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὅπερ ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην ...* ". (178, 2)

29a [*Cf.* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 151 sqq., *et al.*]

29b [On the *naχarar* system in Armenia and the effect of Justinian's reform upon it, *see* Manandian, *Feudalism*, and particularly Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 119-123 with their notes and 174, where the author discusses the Armenian system of agnatic inheritance and its destruction by Justinian, *et passim*, also below, Chapter XV.]

29c [*Const.*, LXXIII = *Ed.*, III. The entire text of this document will be found in Appendix I.]

29d [*Nov.* XXI = *Const.* XLVII. The entire text of this document will be found in Appendix I F. *Cf. Nov.* CXVIII.]

29e [*Cf. Novellae*, p. 760 note 22.]

30 The wording of the decree should also be considered here, " ... *διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐκεῖσε κατεπέμψαμεν νόμους, ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφορῶντες οὕτω πολιτεύοντο* " [*Ed.*, III, i], *i.e.* our laws were introduced into Armenia so that they should regulate their lives according to them. From this remark, we might conclude that that the transformation of Armenia had already been completed by the time this decree appeared. In other words, that *Novella XXI* had been promulgated before 18 March 536, but this is impossible in the light of the above discussion. The passage in the decree probably refers to the establishment of the *praeses* in *Armenia Interior*, which took place before 536, as we have already seen. [This passage both in the text and in the note is partially obscured by Adontz's reference to *Nov.* XXI and XXXI as *Ed.*, III as " the Novella " without specifying the particular document under discussion]. (185, 1)

30a [*Ed.*, III, i = *Nov.*, XXI, title.]

31 *CJ*, V, iii, 20 (2). (186, 1)

32 *Const.*, XCIV = *Nov.* LXXIV, iv, 1,

" *Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μειζόνων ἀξιωμάτων καὶ ὅσα μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστι συνκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν μεγαλοπρεστάτων ἰλλουστρίων οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα παντελῶς ἀνεχόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἔστω πάντως καὶ προὶξ καὶ προγαμιαία δωρεὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα τοῖς σεμνοτέροις πρέπει τῶν ὀνομάτων* ". (186, 2)

33 *Idem.* (187, 1)

[34] *Const.*, CXLI = *Nov.* CXVII, iv,

" *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ νόμον πρώην ἐξεφωνήσαμεν κελεύοντα ἢ προικῷα γίνεσθαι συμβόλαια ἢ ἄλλας συστάσεις προϊέναι γινομένας παρα τοῖς ἐκκλησιεκδίκοις, δι' ὧν τους γάμους προςήκει βεβαιοῦσθαι, ἢ γοῦν ὅρκους παρέχεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος συνείδομεν κάλλιον διατυπῶσαι τὰ περὶ τούτων πρώην νομοθετηθέντα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κελεύομεν τοὺς μεγάλοις ἀξιώμασι κεκοσμημένους μέχρις ἰλλουστρίων μὴ ἄλλως γάμοις προσομιλεῖν εἰ μὴ προικῷα συγγράφοιεν συμβόλαια ... ταύτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀκρίβειαν συγχωροῦμεν τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ βαρβάροις κἂν ἀξιώμασι τοιούτοις ὑπάρχοιεν κεκοσμημένοι, ὥστε καὶ διαθέσει ψιλῇ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς βουλομένους συναλλάσσειν γάμους* ". (187, 2)

[35] *Idem.* (187, 3)

[36] Aristotle, *Politics*, II, viii, 12, " *καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλήλων* ". (188, 1)

[37] *MX*, II, 1, " *Եւ ուստի՞ տացէ քաջն Արտաշէս հազարս ի հազարաց և բիւրս ի բիւրուց ընդ քաջազգոյ կոյս օրիորդիս Ալանաց : ··· Հեծաւ արի արքայն Արտաշէս ի սեաւն գեղեցիկ, և հանեալ զոսկէօղ շիկափոկ պարանն, և անցեալ որպէս զարծուի սրաթև ընդ գետն, և ձգեալ զոսկեօղ շիկափոկ պարանն՝ ընկէց ի մէջք օրիորդին Ալանաց, և շատ ցաւեցոյց զմէջք փափուկ օրիորդին, արագ հասուցանելով ի բանակն իւր :* » (188, 2)

[37a] [*Idem*, " *Որ և ճշմարտութեամբ ունի այսպէս : Քանզի պատուեալ է առ Ալանս մորթ կարմիր, լայքա շատ և ոսկի բազում տուեալ ի վարձանս, առնու զտիկին օրիորդն Սաթինիկ :* »]

[37b] [*Cf.* Benveniste, *REA*, n.s., I, p. 5, who on the contrary cites *awžit* < *abi-jīti-, among " plusieurs ... mots arméniens à préfixe *aw-* que l'on peut présumer iraniens, même si les formes originales nous manquent encore ... ". *See below*, n. 39.]

[38] Sachau, *Syrischer Rechtsbücher*, R I, " Leges Constantini Theodosii Leonis ", No. 31, p. 17, " Was der Mann der Frau gibt, heisst *δωρεά*. Auf Persisch sagt man *dastîr*, auf Syrisch *zabhdâ* oder *mahrâ* ". (189, 1)

[39] The Georg. გუზითი, *guzi˘-i*; მზითევი, *m-zitev-i*, and the Arab. زبد should likewise be linked here ; *cf.* the proper name Zebed-ee, *Ζεβεδ-αῖος*, Zautha = Arm. *Զուիթ*; *cf.* *Տուրք*, *Պարգեւ*. [*Cf.* above n. 37b]. (189, 2)

[40] It is possible that *օժիտ — աւժիտ* is used in Armenian as it is in Syriac to indicate the gift of the bridegroom to the bride. [*Cf.* Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, No. 150, p. 448. For additional bibliography on Armenian *Codes* and their relation to the so-called *Syrian Code*, *see below* n. 44]. (190, 1)

[41] *Dastar* is also found in Sachau, *Syrischer Rechtsbücher*, R I, No. 43, p. 23. Sachau says that he is not familiar with such a word in Persian, and makes the incorrect suggestion that, " Vielleicht darf man es mit dastâr in dem Ausdruck دستارچه ساختن = Geschenk geben kombinieren. Die Anfürhung dieses persischen Wortes deutet vielleicht darauf hin, dass R I innerhalb des Sassaniden reichs oder nicht fern von der persischen Sprachgrenze wie in Babylonien verfasst worden ist ". *Ibid.*, p. 187 note. The actual word required here is the Pers., دستیاری, *nom. abs.* < دستیار " friend, companion, supporter ", < **dasta-data*, or more commonly **dasta-dära*, " giving a hand " or " holding with the hand ", (*cf.* Arm. *ձեռն - տու*, *ձեռնտուութիւն*) whereas the word suggested by Sachau is a diminutive of دستار " kerchief " = Arm. *դաստառ — ակ* [*Cf.* Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, No. 171, p. 135]. (190, 2)

[42] Sachau, *Syrischer Rechtsbücher*, R I, No. 31, p. 17 [" Im Lande der Römer (Romäer) ist dies die Ordnung der Gesetze: Wenn ein Mann sich verheiratet und seine Frau aus ihrem Vaterhaus als *φερνή* Herden von Schafen ... oder Denare mitbringt, dann ist ihr

Ehemann verpflichtet, ihr seinerseits von allem, was sie mitgebracht hat, den gleichen Betrag zu geben. ....

Im Lande der Herrschaft des Ostens besteht eine andere Gewohnheit. Wenn die Frau 100 Denare bringt, bringt der Mann die Hälfte. Zuweilen bringt der Mann mehr als die Frau bringt, zuweilen bringt er nichts und zuweilen bringt auch die Frau nichts "]. *Ibid.*, No. 51, p. 81, where it is said that in Roman law, if a wife brings 100 *denarii*, the husband likewise brings 100, if 200, then 200, whereas in the East, if the wife brings 100 *denarii*, the husband brings only half, *i.e.* 50. *Cf. Syr.-Röm. Recht.*, xlv, p. 111-112, « *Հրամանաւ լեւոն թագաւորին եղաւ օրէնս վասն պասն պռուգայ և սահմանեաւ այսպէս. զոր ինչ բերէ կինն պռուգս գրեսցեն զայն. նոյնպէս գրեսցեն զտուարն այս ինքն զվարձանսն որ է մահր. որպէս հաւանի այրն ի պռոյգն… այլ ի թագաւորական քաղաքն Կոստանդինուպօլիս և ամենայն երկիրն արևմտից եթէ բերէ կինն Ճ դահեկան նոյնպէս տայ այրն Ճ դահեկան. իսկ աշխարհն արևելից ունի այլ սովորութիւն զի ի բերել Ճ դահեկան կնոջն տայ այրն Ծ դահեկան* » :

The word *պաշտատական* meaning " dowry " exists in Armenian; it is perhaps < Pers. **peš-data*, " pre-given ". (190, 3)

43 *Syr.-Röm. Recht.*, which gives both the Syriac text and the Armenian and Arabic translations. [On *p̄royg*, *see* Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, No. 352, p. 374, and Kostanean, *P̄royg*.] (191, 1)

44 *Ibid.*, p. 163. [On Mχit'ar Gōš's *Code* and its relationship both to the *Syrian Code*, and the *Code* of Smbat Sparapet, *see* Karst, *Sempadscher Kodex; Mχit'ar Gōš*; Smbat Sparapet, *Code*; Pivazyan, *Mχit'ar Gōš and Smbat Sparapet*; T'orosyan, *Two Redactions*; and for further bibliography on Armenian medieval law, Sukiasian, *Armenia*]. (191, 2)

45 *Zarbanalean*, pp. 754-755. (191, 3)

46 The editors of the Armenian translation of the *Syrian Code* accepted the thesis that Goš was acquainted with it, *Syr.-Röm. Rechts.*, p. 163, but the colophon to which we have referred was not yet published at the time. In his small article, K. Kostanean, " P̄royg and Towayr ", *Azgayin Handēs*, XIII (1906), p. 131, forgets the existence of this colophon, insists that we still do not know when and by whom the Armenian translation of the *Syrian Code* was made, and supposes incorrectly that Goš had made use of it. [*Cf.* above n. 44, particularly Harut'unyan's Preface to the *Lawcode*, pp. xviii-xxiii]. (191, 4)

46a [V. Bastameanç, ed., *The Armenian Lawcode of Mχit'ar Gōš* (Vałaršapat, 1880).]

46b [*Syr.-Röm. Rechts.*, xlv, p. 111, "*զոր ինչ բերէ կինն պռոյգս գրեսցեն զայն. նոյնպէս գրեսցեն զտուարն այսինքն զվարձանս որ է մահր.*"]

47 *Mχit'ar Gōš*, I, cxxi, "*Այլպէս լինի առ մահմետականս զուգումն ամուսնութեան. զի հատանեն նախ գին անձին կնոջն, որ կոչի մահր. նոյն և այս առ հռովմայեցիսն տուայր կոչի. ապա սահմանեն և զբաժին ի հայրէնի իրաց, որ կոչի պռոյգք*". This article is missing in four of MSS used by the editor of the *Code*, in one of the MSS it has been put into the second part of the *Code*. The beginning of the article shows that it is not in its proper place but has been shifted from another part of the *Code*. *Տուար*, the deformation of δωρεά assumes the form *տուայր* in Mχit'ar's *Code*, probably as a result of a false etymology deriving it from Arm. *տու այր*, meaning *տուեալն յառնէ* which is given in the *Arm. Dict.*, II, p. 890 [*Cf.* Harutyunyan, " notes " to the *Lawcode*, p. 237 n. 57]. Concerning *mahrā*, *see* van den Berg, *Droit musulman*, pp. 147-149. (192, 1)

48 *Mχit'ar Gōš*, I, cxxi, (192, 2)

49 *Ibid.*, *Վերբերուք, երեստեսուք, բերանբացէք.* [*Cf.* Harut'yunyan, " Notes " to the *Lawcode*, p. 237 n. 58]. (193, 1)

49a [*Ed.*, III, i.]

50 According to the *Law of the XII Tables*, V, 4 [L. III, 448/9]. " Si intestato moritur, cui suus heres nec escit, adgnatus proximus familiam habeto ". The same was true of the Greek, not only before Solon, but also after his reform. Men were given the precedence over women in cases of intestacy. [On the question of agnatic inheritance, *see*, Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 119-123. (194, 1)

51 *Const.*, CXLIII = *Nov.* CXVIII, " *Διάταξις ἀναιροῦσα τὰ* adgnatika *δίκαια καὶ τυποῦσα τὰς ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου κλήσεις* ". (194, 2)

52 *Lex Salica*, lix, 5, " De terra vero nulla in muliere hereditas est sed ad virilem sexum qui fratres fuerint tota terra perteneat ". *See* Waitz, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, I, p. 64. (184, 3)

53 The wording of the *Edict* [In the Teubner edition], " *μὴ καλουμένας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀδιαθέτου διαδοχὴν* ... " instead of the usual " *ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου* " should be noted. The MS reads *ἐξαίτασιν* but the modern editors rightly correct this into *ἐξ ἔθους* in view of Julian's Latin translation, " ... ab intestato parentibus suis secundum pristinam Armeniorum consuetudinem non succedebant ". [*Cf. Ed.*, III, i, which reads, " *μὴ καλουμένας* ... *εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου διαδοχὴν* ... ", and the editor's note to *Ibid.*, p. 761/12]. (195, 1)

54 Tacitus, *Germ.*, xx [L. *Discourses*, 292/3], " heredes successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum ". (195, 2)

55 *ŁP'*, xviii, p. 111, [" *Եւ վասն զի ոչ գոյր նմա արու զաւակ՝ բայց միայն դուստր մի, զոր էր տուեալ կնութեան Համազասպայ տեառն Մամիկոնէից և սպարապետի Հայոց, ··· որոց կտակ ետ և կնքեաց սուրբ այրն Աստուծոյ Սահակ զստացուածս գեօղից և ագարակաց իւրոց, և որ ինչ միանգամ իւր էր ետ նոցա ի ժառանգութիւն և զաւակի նոցա մինչև ցյաւիտեան* ".

MX, II, lxii, mentions Drowasp, the Persian, " *որ խնամացեալ էր ընդ նախարարս Վասպուրականի, որում տուեալ էր զաւանն Տատեօնս Հանդերձ ագարագօքն* ". (195, 3)

56 *Lex Salica*, lxxxii, " Hereditatem defuncti filius non filia suscipiat. Si filium non habuit qui defunctus est, ad filiam pecunia et mancipia terra vero ad proximam paternae generationis consanguineum pertineat ". (196, 1)

56a [*Nov.* XXIV, Pisidia; XXV, Lykaonia; XXVI, Thrace; XXVIII, Helenopontus; XXIX, Paphlagonia; XXX, Cappadocia.]

57 *Nov.* XXIV, i.

58 Procopius, *Pers.*, II, iii [L. I, 272/3], " *τά τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐληΐζετο οὐδενὶ λογῷ καὶ φόρου αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὔποτε οὖσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν* ". Historians list a number of exactions imposed on the Empire as a whole, *cf.* Diehl, *Justinien*, p. 296. We do not know which of these were levied in Armenia. It is possible that the revenue from the gold mines located in Akakios' portion of Armenia also entered into the 400 pounds of gold. According to *Malalas*, p. 456, the mountains lying on the border of Persarmenia were very rich in gold; in periods of heavy rainfall, the earth washed down from the mountains and uncovered the gold deposits. These lands had formerly been rented out by the Romans and the Persians for 200 pounds of gold, but with the transfer of these lands to the Empire under Anastasius, the Romans alone received this revenue, " *ὅτε γὰρ βροχαὶ καὶ ὄμβροι γίνονται, κατασύρεται ἡ γῆ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρέων, λεπτίδας ἀναβλύζουσα*

χρυσοῦ· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ὄρη ἐμισθοῦντο τὸ πρότερόν τινες ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν διακοσίων. ἐξ οὗ δὲ παρελήφησαν τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρη ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου 'Αναστασίου. 'Ρωμαῖοι μόνοι κομίζονται την θεσπισθεῖσαν συντέλειαν ... ". Consequently the Imperial treasury received a yearly income of 200 pounds of gold from these mines, if these were included into the 4 *kentenaria* or 400 pounds, the amount of the yearly taxes becomes understandable. *Theoph. Conf.*, I, p. 179, " ... *χρυσοπυχίων* ... *πρώην ἀνὰ τάλαντα τελούντων 'Ρωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις νῦν δὲ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις μόνοις τελούντων* ... ". Theophanes is unquestionably making use of Malalas in this passage, and is using the word " *talent* " in the sense of " *kentenarion* ". (198, 2)

CHAPTER VIII

[a] [*Cf.* above Chapter IV n. [a], for Vasiliev's objection to Adontz's thesis on the position of *Armenia Minor* in the successive periods of Armenian history, and his argument that Justinian's policy was aimed at the erradication of local traditions and the incorporation of Armenia into the norms of Imperial life, all of which Vasiliev considers insufficiently demonstrated, "Review" *ZMNP*, pp. 414-415. Nevertheless, Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 119-123 and p. 196 n. 219, does not seem to take issue with this aspect of Adontz's argument, and accepts his thesis of the migration of the Armenian nobles westward and their assimilation into the bureaucracy of the Empire after Justinian's transformations in their homeland.]

[1] *ACO*, II, vi, p. 71, *cf.* Appendix II H, "... cohabitamus enim circa Armenios barbaros, fideles quidem, sed recte Romano eloquio non utentes, breui quodam ab eis spatio magis autem intercessione Eufratis fluminis separati, et propter frequentem barbarorum permixtionem longos nequiuimus proferre sermones ...". [Adontz usually dates Leo's *Encyclical* in 452 or 453, which is patently impossible since Leo I did not come to the throne until 457. The *Answers* to this *Encyclical* are usually dated 457 and 458. *See e.g.*, R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London, 1961), p. 274 and n. 5; Honigmann, *Original Lists*, pp. 75-76 and n. 167]. (202, 1)

[1a] [*MX*, I, xiv.]

[2] Const. Porph. *de Themat.*, p. 63, "*Τὸ θέμα τὸ καλούμενον 'Αρμενιακὸν ... ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα ... ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων καὶ συνοίκων 'Αρμενίων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκτήσατο*". [*Cf. Ibid.*, p. 65, "*ἐκλήθη 'Αρμενιακόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ πλησιόχωρον τῶν 'Αρμενίων* ...". *Also* Pertusi, Notes to *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109, 117-118]. (203, 1)

[2a] [The thesis of Bagratid origin for the Rupenid dynasty is no longer considered tenable. *See e.g.* Adontz himself in his article "L'aïeul des Roubéniens. Notes arméno-byzantines, VI", *Byzantion*, X (1935), reprinted in his *Études Arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 177-195, *et al.*]

[3] *Sebēos*, vi, viii, x, pp. 47, 51, 53, etc. Joh. Eph., *HE*, xi, xv, pp. 231, 236. (204, 1)

[3a] [The interpretation of iconoclasm as a rationalist movement, albeit favoured at the time of composition of this book, is no longer taken seriously. For the most recent rejection of this thesis, *see* M. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule, 717-842", *CMH*, IV, 1, pp. 61 sqq.]

[3b] [*See* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 196 n. 219, 200-201 n. 228, and Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, s.d.), *also above*, Chapter V, nn. 57-58.]

[4] Procopius, *Goth.*, III [VII], xxxii, 6-7 [L. IV, 420/1. - 422/3],

"*ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κακοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις γενναῖόν τε καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος διαλυτὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, φίλον τε ὄντα καὶ ἑστιάτορα Γόνθαριν αὐτοχειρὶ λαβόντα κτεῖναι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι ἀποδειλιάσαντα οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ἐνταῦθα καθῆσθαι, τῆς μὲν πατρίδος οἱ φρουρουμένης τε ἐνδελεχέστατα καὶ δασμοῖς ἐκτετηκυίας ἀήθεσι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένου ἐπὶ ξυνθηκῶν τε καὶ ξυμβάσεως λόγῳ, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου τε καὶ σκεδαννυμένου ἀεὶ πανταχόσε τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς*". [The translation of this passage given in the text is taken from the Loeb Classical library, and is closer to the text than the one given by Adontz]. (260, 1)

[4a] [*Sebēos*, vi, p. 47, "*Ազգ մի խոտոր և անհնազանդ են; ասէ, կան ի միջի մերում և պղտորեն : Բայց եկ՝ ասէ, ես զինս ժողովեմ և ի Թրակէ գումարեմ.*

և դու գքոյդ ժողովէ և Հրամայէ յԱրևելս տանել : Զի եթէ մեռանին՝ թշնամիք մեռանին. և եթէ սպանանեն՝ զթշնամիս սպանանեն. և և մեք կեցցուք խաղաղութեամբ : Զի եթէ դոքա յերկրի իւրեանց լինիցին, մեզ Հանգչել ոչ լինի". *Cf.* Goubert, *L'Orient*, pp. 191 sqq., particularly pp. 209-211 and 217-218.]

5 Among these are *e.g.* *ապացոյց* = ἀποδείξις, *շարունակ* = συνέχες, *տարբերութիւն* = δια-φορά, *բաց—ասութիւն* = ἀπό-φασις, *բաց—ատրութիւն* = ἀπόδωσις, *վերաբերիլ* = ἀνα-φέσεσθαι, *քանակ* = πόσον, *որակ* = ποίον, *տրամադրութիւն* = διά-θεσις, *շարադրութիւն*, *շարամանութիւն* = συμ-πλοκή. [On the Syrian elements in early Armenian Christianity and their linguistic importance, *see, e.g.* Ter Minassiantz, *Armenische Kirche*, and Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, pp. 281-321, etc. On the Hellenistic school in Armenia and the period of its development, Manandian, *Hellenistic School*]. (208, 1)

6 According to one authority, the Armeniens, "haben dem Reiche unermessliche Dienst gethan. Die fähigsten Offiziere, die genialsten Heeres leiter der folgenden Jahrhunderte (*i.e.* after Justinian) sind armenischen und iberischen Geblüts", H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, (Leipzig, 1899), p. 24. "Der hohe und niedere Adel der Armenier (Nahararkʼ, σατράπαι und Azatkʼ "Αζατοι) bildeten neben den Iberern den kernhafsten und tüchtigsten Stamm der romäischen Reiterregimenter (Καβαλλαρικὰ θέματα)", *Ibid.*, p. 96. [*Cf. above* n. 3b]. (210, 1)

APPENDICES

The Appendices are an addition in the present edition and were not part of the original publication, although some of the material included in them was printed as part of Adontz's text, and much of it was referred to in his notes. In some cases, such as the new Greek version of the *Life of St Gregory*, the Appendices contain material which has become known since the publication of the Russian edition.

Each of the documents included is given either *in extenso*, or, as in the case of geographical documents or such administrative documents as the various *Notitiae*, in their relevant portions. The text from which a given document has been cited will be indicated in every case, but for variant readings or editorial notes, the reader is referred to the original edition.

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I. GREEK AND LATIN LEGAL DOCUMENTS

A. Codex Theodosianus [1]

Liber XII Titulus XIII De auro coronario

6. *Iidem AAA* [*Gratianus, Valentinianus et Theodosius*] *Gaddanae Satrapae Sophanenae.* Aurum coronarium his reddi restituique decernimus, quibus illicite videtur ablatum, ut, secundum consuetudinem moris antiqui, omes satrapae pro devotione, quae Romano debetur imperio, coronam ex propriis facultatibus faciant serenitati nostrae solenniter offerendam. *Dat. XVIII. Kal. Iul. Constantinopoli, Valentiniano A. III. et Eutropio Coss.* (387).

B. Codex Justinianus [2]

Liber I Titulus XXVIIII De officio magistri militum

5. *Imp. Iustinianus A. Zetae viro illustri magistro militum per Armeniam et Pontem Polemoniacum et gentes.* Cum propitia divinitate Romanum nobis sit delatum imperium, sollicita cura cauta diligentia pertractantes perspeximus oportere etiam partibus Armeniae et Ponto Polemoniaco et gentibus proprium magistrum militum per hanc legem constituere, tuamque magnitudinem, quae nobis ex ante gestis optime commendata est, idoneam ad talem fore dignitatem confidentes elegimus certasque provincias, id est magnam Armeniam, quae interior dicebatur, et gentes (Anzetenam videlicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam, Sophenam, Sophanenam, in qua est Martyropolis, Balabitenam) et primam et secundam Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum tuae curae cum suis ducibus commisimus, comite Armeniae penitus sublato, certosque subdidimus numeros, non modo quos in praesenti novos constituimus, sed etiam de praesentalibus et Orientalibus et aliis agminibus segregatos, non tamen quantitatem eorum agminum minuentes: sed quia plures eis addidimus sine rei publicae gravamine et sine augmento sumptuum, aliquantos subtraximus,

[1] *CTh*, II, 1, p. 731.
[2] *CJC*, 6th ed., II, p. 82.

ita tamen, ut et post hanc subtractionem ampliores remanserint, quam usque ad nostra felicia fuerant tempora.

C. Codex Justinianus [3]

Liber X Titulus XVI De annona et tributis

13. Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀναστάσιος Α. Ἀνθεμίῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν πραιτωρίων.

Ἐὰν μὲν αἰτήσῃ ἐπαρχία ἢ πόλις κουφισμόν λαβεῖν τνχικῆς συντελείας ἢ ἐπόπτην ἢ ἐξισωτὴν πεμφθῆναι, ἀναφερέσθω μὲν ἡ δέησις αὐτῶν εἰς βασιλέα, καὶ ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς τοῦτο πεμπέσθω ὅρκον πρότερον διδούς, καὶ ἐάν τι μηνύσῃ οὗτος τοῖς ἐπάρχοις, μηδείς τύπος διδόσθω ἐπὶ τὴν μήνυσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔπαρχοι ἀναδιδάξωσι βασιλέα πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναδιδαχθέντα καὶ ζητηθέντα, καὶ οὕτως θεῖος ἐκφωνηθείη τύπος ὀφείλων πᾶσι τρόποις παραφυλάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καθεὶς ἄνθρωπος δεήσεις περὶ τοιούτων ἐννοιῶν μὴ ἐπιδιδότω· μήτε δὲ κουφισμὸς ἢ μείωσις διηνεκαῖς ἢ προσκαίρως μήτε ἐποψία μήτε ἐξίσωσις γινέσθω χωρὶς βασιλικῆς ἐγγράφου κελεύσεως. Ἀλλὰ μήτε ἐκταγὰς ποιείτωσαν οἱ ἔπαρχοι ὑπὲρ χρόνων προλαμβανόντων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχήν, μήτε σιτηρέσιά τισιν ἀφοριζέτωσαν ἢ ἄλλως πως χρήματα ἢ μὴ παρεχόμενα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ παρεχόμενα μέν, διὰ δέ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν ταῦτα κομιζομένων σωμάτων ἀργήσαντα ἢ διὰ τὸ παυθῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν σχολάσαι, δι' ἣν παρείχοντο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἐκ βασιλικῆς μόνης αὐθεντίας γινέσθω κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἔγγραφον τύπον. οἱ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο παραφυλάττοντες καὶ τὸ διδόμενον οἴκοθεν ἀποδιδότωσαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ζημίαν, ἣν ἂν ὑποστῇ τὸ δημόσιον. Μήτε δὲ υπερθέσεις ἢ προθεσμίας ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφειλομένοις δημοσίοις ἐνδιδότω τις ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προθεσμίας χωρὶς ἐγγράφου θείας κελεύσεως. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ αὐθεντίαν οἰκείαν ποιῶν οἴκοθεν καταβαλλέτω τὰ κεχρεωστημένα τῷ δημοσίῳ. Μήτε δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ εἰσφέρεται ἢ τοῖς πόλεσιν ἀφώρισται, εἰς ἑτέρας μεταφερέσθω χρείας ἢ προσώποις τισὶν ἀφοριζέσθω χωρὶς θείας κελεύσεως. Καὶ ἡ τάξις δὲ τῶν ἐπάρχων, εἰ μὴ πάντα τὰ περιεχόμενα τῇ διατάξει ταῦτα παραφυλάξει καὶ διδάξει τοὺς ἐπάρχους, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ αἱ πειθόμεναι τάξεις αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δημοσιεύοντες, εἰ ταῖς τοιαύταις κελεύσεσιν ὑπουργήσαιεν, οἴκοθεν διδότωσαν τὴν συμβαίνουσαν τῷ δημοσίῳ

[3] *CJC*, 6th ed., II, p. 402.

βλάβην καὶ ὡς τοῦ νόμου καταφρονήσαντες πεντήκοντα χρυσίου λίτρας προστιμάσθωσαν. Τριμερῶς δὲ πάντα τὰ δημόσια εἰσφερέσθω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα Ἀρμενιακά, τουτέστι καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίαις καὶ καλάνδαις Μαΐαις καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς ἐπινεμήσεως, ἐξ ἴσων τριῶν μερῶν διαιρουμένων τῶν δημοσίων, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς καινοτομίας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ γινομένης κατὰ τῶν συντελῶν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Ἀρμενιακὰ τελέσματα ἐν δύο καταβολαῖς συνετελεῖτο, ἔξεστι τοῖς ταῦτα συντελοῦσιν, εἰ βούλονται, τὴν προτέραν συνήθειαν προτιμᾶν καὶ ἐν δύο καταβολαῖς ἀνὰ ἥμισυ καταβάλλειν, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισυ ἐν τῷ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τῆς μελλούσης ἐπινεμήσεως καταβάλλειν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τριμερῶς βούλονται τὰ Ἀρμενιακὰ δημόσια καταβάλλειν, ἐχέτωσαν τὸν Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα τῆς μελλούσης ἐπινεμήσεως πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν αὐτοῖς δεδομένον. Τὸ δὲ προαπεσταλμένον κατὰ σύνθεσιν εἰσφερέσθω ἐν τῷ προνομίῳ ἑκάστης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο δηλοῖ καὶ ἡ προσηγορία αὐτοῦ.

D. k. April. Paulo vc. cons. [*a.* 496]

D. NOVELLA VIII [4]

Ut iudices sine quoquo suffragio fiant

Η ΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΑΣΟΥΝ ΔΟΣΕΩΣ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννῃ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων τὸ β', ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ.

<Προοίμιον>. Ἁπάσας ἡμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας συμβαίνει μετὰ πάσης ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ φροντίδος διάγειν ἀεὶ βουλευομένοις, ὅπως ἂν χρηστόν τι καὶ ἀρέσκον θεῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δοθείη. Καὶ οὐ πάρεργον τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοιαύτας αὐτὴν ἀναλίσκομεν βουλὰς διημερεύοντές τε καὶ νυξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ ταῖς ἡμέραις χρώμενοι, ὥστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ γίνεσθαι πάσης φροντίδος ἀπηλλαγμένους, ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων μερίμνας ἀναδεχομένων. Διὰ πάσης γὰρ ἐρεύνης καὶ ζητήσεως ἀκριβοῦς ἐρχόμεθα, πράττειν ἐκεῖνα ζητοῦντες, ἅπερ ὄφελος τοῖς ημετέροις ὑστηκόοις εἰςάγοντα παντὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξει βάρους καὶ πάσης

[4] *CJC*, 6th ed., III, pp. 64 sqq.

ζημίας ἔξωθεν ἐπειςαγομένης παρὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ἀπογραφὴν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν τε καὶ νενομισμένην συντέλειαν. Εὑρίσκομεν γὰρ πολλὴν ἐπειςελθοῦσαν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀδικίαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἄνωθεν, ἀλλ' ἔκ τινων χρόνων, βιασαμένην τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους καὶ εἰς πενίαν ἐλαύνουσαν, ὡς εἰς τελειοτάτην αὐτοὺς ἀπορίαν κινδυνεύειν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ τὰ συνήθη καὶ νενομισμένα τῶν δημοσίων καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις εὐσεβῶν φόρων κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ἀπογραφὴν δύνασθαι χωρὶς μεγάλης ἀνάγκης τιθέναι. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἴσχυον οἱ συντελεῖς, τῶν τε ἔκ τινος χρόνου βεβασιλευκότων ἀεί τι κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προαγωγῆς βουλομένων, εἰκότως τε τούτοις ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ὑπάρχων, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδικίας ταῖς τε ἔξωθεν ζημίαις ταῖς τε νενομισμέναις εὐσεβέσιν ἐπαρκεῖν εἰσφοραῖς; Ἔννοια τοίνυν ημῖν γέγονε, τί ποτε ἂν πράξαντες ἅπαν, ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ημετέραις ἐπαρχίαις ἐστὶν ἐπιβλαβές, πράξει μιᾷ κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κρείττω μεταστήσαιμεν. τοῦτο δὲ πάντως ἀποβησόμενον εὑρίσκομεν, εἰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅσοι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἔχουσι, καθαραῖς παρασκευάσαιμεν χρῆσθαι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ παντὸς ἀπέχεσθαι λήμματος, μόνοις ἀρκουμένους τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου διδομένοις. Ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους παραλαμβάνοιεν, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν διδόντες οὐδὲ προφάσει τῶν καλουμένων suffragiων, οὔτε τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἑτέρῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενί. ἐσκοπήσαμεν γὰρ ὅτιπερ, εἰ καὶ πόρος οὐ μικρὸς ἐλαττοῦται τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἀλλ' οὖν τῶν ἡμετέρων υποτελῶν ἐπίδοσιν μεγάλην λαμβανόντων, εἴπερ ἀζήμιοι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων φυλάττοιντο, ἥ τε βασιλεία τό τε δημόσιον εὐθηνήσει χρωμένη ὑπηκόοις εὐπόροις, μιᾶς τε ταύτης εἰςαγομένης τάξεως πολλὴ καὶ ἀμύθητος ἔσται τοῦ πράγματος ἀφθονία. ἢ οὐ πᾶσίν ἐστι φανερόν, ὅτιπερ ὁ χρυσίον διδοὺς καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνούμενος οὐκ αὐτὸ δίδωσι μόνον, ὅσον προφάσει τῶν καλουμένων ἐπενοήθη suffragiων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον ἔξωθεν προςεπιθήσει πλεῖον προφάσει τῆς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ διδόντων ἢ μνηστευόντων θεραπείας; καὶ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς ἀτόπου δοθείσης πολλὰς ἀνάγκη χεῖρας περινοστεῖν τὸν τῆς δόσεως ἀρχόμενον, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ οἴκοθεν ἴσως παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεδανεισμένον, καὶ ἵνα δανείσασθαι δυνηθείη, ζημιούμενον, καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι κατ' αὐτόν, ὅτι προςῆκόν ἐστι τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας λαβεῖν, ὁπόσον διαλύσει μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὀφλήματα, κεφάλαιά τε καὶ τόκον, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δανείσασθαι ζημίας, δώσει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν μέσῳ δαπάνην δαψιλεστέραν τε ἤδη καὶ ἄρχοντι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πρέπουσαν, καί τινα ἑαυτῷ καὶ προςαποθήσεται πόρον κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς χρόνον,

καθ' ὃν ἴσως οὐκ ἄρξει· ὥςτε τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένου τριπλάσιον, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, δεκαπλάσιον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποτελῶν είςπραττόμενον ἔσται. Ἐντεῦθέν τε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἐλαττωθίσεται· ἃ γὰρ ἐχρῆν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον εἰςαχθῆναι, τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος καθαραῖς χρωμένου ταῖς χερσί, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν θεραπείαν λαβὼν ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἄπορόν τε ἀποφήνας ἡμῖν τὸν συντελεστήν, τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκείνου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γενομένην ἡμῖν ὑπολογίζεται. Πόσα δὲ ἀσεβῆ καὶ άλλα γίνεται εἰς τὴν τῶν κλοπῶν τοίτων εἰκότως ἀναφερόμενα πρόφασιν; οἱ γὰρ δὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπιχωρίους εἰς τὸ λῆμμα προςέχοντες τοῦτο πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀφιᾶσι, πωλοῦντες αὐτοῖς τὸ πλημμέλημα, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀνευθύνων κατακρίνουσιν, ἵνα τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις χαρίσωνται· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς χρηματικαῖς μόνον πράττουσιν αἰτίαις, ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἐνκλήμασιν, ἔνθα περὶ ψυχῆς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος. φυγαί τε ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν γίνονται, καὶ συρρέουσιν ἐνταῦθα πάντες ὀδυρόμενοι, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ταξεῶται καὶ κτήτορες καὶ δημόται καὶ γεωργοί, ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων κλοπαῖς τε εἰκότως καὶ ἀδικίαις μεμφόμενοι. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ γίνεται μόνα, άλλὰ καὶ αἱ τῶν πόλεων στάσεις καὶ οἱ δημώδεις θόρυβοι τὰ πολλὰ χρημάτων γίνονταί τε καὶ παύονται. καὶ ὅλως μία τις ἐστὶν αὕτη πάντων ἀφορμὴ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τό γε ἀργυρολογεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς πύσης ἐστὶ πονηρίας προοίμιον τε καὶ πέρας· καὶ ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῶν θείων λογίων θαυμαστόν τε καὶ ἀληθέστατον τὸ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν πάντων εἶναι μητέρα τῶν κακῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν μὴ ταῖς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐγγένηται ψυχαῖς. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀκινδύνως κλέπτοι, τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ληστεύσειεν ἀνεύθυνα, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβλέπων κἀκείνην ὁρῶν ἅπαντα χρυσίου πιπράσκουσαν, καὶ θαρρῶν ὡς, ὅπερ ἂν πράξειεν ἄτοπον, τοῦτο χρήματα δοὺς ἐξωνήσετα; ἐντεῦθεν ἀνδροφονίαι τε καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ ἔφοδοι καὶ πληγαὶ καὶ ἁρπαγαὶ παρθένων καὶ πανηγύρεων συγχύσεις καὶ καταφρονήσεις τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, πάντων αὐτὰς ὠνίους προκεῖσθαι νομιζόντων, ὥςπερ τι τῶν κακίστων ἀνδραπόδων. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀρκέσαιμεν προςεννοεῖν τε καὶ ἀφηγεῖσθαί, ὁπόσα καὶ ἐκ τῆς κλοπῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀρχόντων γίνεται χαλεπά, οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς θαρροῦντος μετὰ παρρησίας ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἐκείνων εὐθὺς τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνήσασθαι προισχομένων.

CAPUT I.

Ταῦτα ἅπαντα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βουλευσάμενοι κἀνταῦθα κοινωνὸν τοῦ βουλεύματος παραλαβόντες τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδομένην ἡμῖν εὐσεβεσ-

τάτην σύνοικον, καὶ τῇ σῇ γε ὑπεροχῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα κοινωσάμενοι καί τι καὶ παρὰ τῆς σῆς λαβόντες βουλῆς, ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν θεῖον A *ἐληλύθαμεν νόμον· δι' οὗ θεσπίζομεν, μήτε ανθυπατείαν μηδεμίαν μήτε τὴν μέχρι νῦν καλουμένην βικαρίαν μήτε τὸν κόμητα τῆς ἑῴας μήτε ἄλλην οἱανοῦν ἀρχήν, μήτε ὑπατικὴν μήτε ἡγεμονικήν, ἃς δὴ κονσουλαρίας καὶ κορρεκτορίας καλοῦσιν (ὧν τινων ῥητῶς μέμνηται ἡ ὑποκειμένη τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ ἀπογραφή, ἃς δὴ καὶ μόνας ὑπὸ τόνδε τὸν νόμον ἄγομεν), διδόναι τι* suffragio*ν μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν οἱανοῦν δόσιν μήτε ἄρχοντι μηδενὶ μήτε τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς τινι μήτε ἑτέρῳ προςώπῳ κατὰ πρύφασιν προστασίας· ἀλλὰ προῖκα μὲν κομίζεσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, μέτρια δὲ παρέχειν προφάσει τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης διδομένων συμβόλων τε καὶ χαρτῶν. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπεθήκαμεν ἀπογραφὴν τῷδε τῷ θείῳ ἡμῶν νόμῳ δηλοῦσαν, τί προςῆκόν ἐστιν ἑκάστην ἀρχὴν παρέχειν ἢ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἡμῶν* latercul*oν ἢ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς προφάσει τῶν κωδικέλλων ἢ συμβόλων ἢ προσταγμάτων· ὥςτε ἐκεῖνο [τε] συνεστάλθαι καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτῷ μεγάλην αἴσθησιν.*

CAPUT II.

$\overline{B}$ *Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι διορίζομεν, τὸ χρῆναι τὸν βικάριον τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, ὄντα δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα τῆς Πακατιανῆς Φρυγίας, μηκέτι μὲν οὕτω προςαγορεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόμητα Φρυγίας Πακατιανῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ κομίζεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ἅπερ καὶ νῦν προφάσει ἀννόνων τε καὶ καπιτατιώνων ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας ἀρχῆς ἐλάμβανεν, οὐδενὸς ἐλαττουμένου τούτων· καὶ μη δύο τάξεσι χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀναμιγεῖσαν ἑκατέραν, τήν τε τοῦ ἄρχοντος τήν τε τοῦ βικαρίου, μίαν γενέσθαι, κομιτιανὴν οὖσάν τε καὶ ὀνομαζομένην, τοῦ κινδύνου τῶν δημοσίων φόρων αὐτῷ τε καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐπόντος — οἷα μιᾶς τάξεως καθεστώσης, μὴ διῃρημένης αὐτῆς παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίαν ἁπάντων στρατευομένων συνέχειαν —, κομιζομένην μέντοι καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ διπλοῦν τοῦ κινδύνου τὰς ἀννόνας καὶ καπιτατίωνας, ἅπερ ἑκατέρα πρώην ἐκομίζετο τάξις. μὴ μὴν ἑτέρας τινὸς ἄρχειν τὸν πρώην μὲν βικάριον, νῦν δὲ περίβλεπτον κόμητα τῆς Πακατιανῆς Φρυγίας, οὐκ ἔχοντα παντελῶς οὐδεμίαν μετουσίαν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπαρχίαις, ἀλλ' ἔχοντα μὲν τὴν τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμητος τῆς Πακατιανῆς Φρυγίας ἐπωνυμίαν, ἀρκούμενον δὲ μόνῃ τῇ Πακατιανῇ, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, Φρυγία.*

CAPUT III.

Γ̄ *Αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ θατέρου τοῦ πρώην βικαρίου διορίζομεν, φαμὲν δὴ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ποντικὴν διοίκησιν· ὥστε μὴ δύο καθεστάναι τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλ' ἕνα, κόμητα μὲν Γαλατίας πρώτης ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξουσίαν, καθάπερ ἔχει καὶ νῦν, καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρας ἀρχῆς κομιζόμενον σιτήσεις, οὐ μὴν ἔξω τῆς πρώτης Γαλατίας. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἑτέραν παντελῶς δίδομεν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κατ' οὐδεμιᾶς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνην Γαλατίαν τὴν πρώτην. τῆς τάξεώς τε ὁμοίως ἀναμιγνυμένης καὶ κατὰ μίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, νοουμένης καὶ ἀριθμουμένης συνέχειαν, κομιτιανῆς οὔσης τε καὶ ὀνομαζομένης· καὶ οὐδενὸς παντελῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχοντός τινα διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ μίαν εἶναι τάξιν, ὑφ' ἑνὶ τεταγμένην ἄρχοντι, μιᾶς ἐπαρχίας ἡγουμένῳ· πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς τάξεως ἅμα τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντι περὶ τὰ δημόσια κινδυνευούσης.*

CAPUT IV.

<Δ̄> *Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄρχοντι παντελῶς ἐφίεμεν οὔτε πολιτικῷ οὔτε στρατιωτικῷ ἐκπέμπειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἧς ἄρχει, τοὺς καλουμένους τοποτηρητάς, γινώσκουσιν, ὡς εἴ τοιοῦτό τι πράξαιεν, αὐτοὶ παντελῶς ἐκπεσοῦνται τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ θαρρήσαντες ἑτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν ἐμβιβάζειν.*

CAPUT V.

Ē *Αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο φαμὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμητος τῆς ἑῴας καὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἄρχοντος. κἀκεῖσε γὰρ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀμφοτέρας ποιούμεθα, ἔχοντος μὲν καὶ τὸ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμητος τῆς Ἑῴας ὄνομα, τάξεως δὲ μιᾶς ἄρχοντος κομιτιανῆς οὔσης τε καὶ ὀνομαζομένης, καὶ τῆς πρώτης μόνης Συρίας καὶ τῶν Κυρρηστικῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρας ἀρχῆς ἔχοντος σιτήσεις. ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ τοῖς βικαρίοις κἀκεῖνον τίθεμεν, ὥστε ἅμα καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ πειθομένῃ αὐτῷ τάξει κινδυνεύειν ὑπέρ τε τῆς τῶν δημοσίων εἰσπράξεως ὑπέρ τε τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ δημοσίας καταστάσεως.*

CAPUT VI.

Ϛ̄ *Βουλόμεθά γε μὴν ἅπασι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπαρχιῶν πάντας ὑποκεῖσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἴδιον ἐπὶ πάσαις αἰτίαις καὶ πάσαις χρηματικαῖς τε καὶ ἐγκληματικαῖς προφάσεσι,*

τοὺς δέ γε ἐν στρατείαις ὄντας καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδικοῖς ἄρχοντας τεταγμένους καὶ τούτους οὐδὲν ἧττον προφάσει δημοσίων τε καὶ ἐγκλημάτων ὑποκεῖσθαι πᾶσι τρό- <Ζ̄> ποις αὐτοῖς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν κατιόντας ἐξ οἱουδήποτε δικαστηρίου καὶ τὰς οἱαςοῦν μεταχειριζομένους ψήφους ἐξεῖναι τοὺς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντας μὴ συγχωρεῖν πλεῖόν τι τῶν τῇ θείᾳ ἡμῶν διατάξει διηγορευμένων λαμβάνειν sportulων, γινώσκοντας ὡς, εἰ τούτου ῥᾳθυμήσειαν, πᾶσαν ζημίαν ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἡμετέροις υποτελέσιν ἐπαγομένην αὐτοὶ καταθήσουσι. Δίδομεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν καὶ γνωρίζειν τὰ περὶ τούτου μὴ μόνον εἰς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐξ ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ στελλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, ὥςτε ἡμᾶς ταῦτα γινώσκοντας τῷ πράγματι προςηκόντως ἐπεξιέναι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί τινας εὕροιεν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἢ τῆς ζώνης ὑπεροψίαν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑποτελεῖς ἀδικοῦντας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς δίδομεν καὶ ἐξετάζειν τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπευθύνους εὑρισκομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῆς ζώνης καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις πληροῦν, τοῦτο ὕπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διηγόρευται τῶν νόμων. ὥςπερ γὰρ αὐτοὺς παντὸς ἀδίκου κέρδους εἴργομεν, οὕτω καὶ καθαρῶς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κεχρημένους πάσης τιμῆς τε καὶ αἰδοῦς καὶ σεμνότητος ἀπολαύειν θεσπίζομεν.

CAPUT VII.

Η̄ Οὕτω τοίνυν ἡμῖν τῶν ἀρχῶν διακεκριμένων προσήκει τὸν ἐνταῦθα παραλαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμης ἐναντίον ἡμῶν, ἢ εἴπερ ἡμῖν οὐκ εἴη σχολή, ἐναντίον τῆς τε σῆς ὑπεροχῆς, καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ τὸν σὸν κατακοσμησόντων θρόνον, τοῦ τε αεὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμητος τῶν θείων ἡμῶν largitionων τοῦ τε ἐνδοξοτάτου quaestoros τοῦ θείου ἡμῶν παλατίου τοῦ τε ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμητος τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ θείων ἡμῶν privatων, παρόντος δὴ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου χαρτουλαρίου τῶν θείων ἡμῶν κοιτώνων τοῦ τοῖς συμβόλοις τούτοις τοῖς παρ' ημῖν ὑπηρετουμένου, ὅρκον διδόναι, μηδενὶ παντελῶς μηδὲ ὁτιοῦν παρέχειν μήτε προφάσει δόσεως μήτε προστασίας, μηδὲ ἐπαγγείλασθαι, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ὁμολογῆσαι στέλλειν, μήτε τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ἐπάρχοις μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσι μήτε τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς καθεστῶσι μήτε ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κατὰ πρόφασιν προστασίας. ἀλλ' ὥςπερ ἄμισθον λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν, προσλαμβάνει τε παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰς σιτήσεις (ταύτας γὰρ δὴ καὶ μόνας λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἐφίεμεν), οὕτως αὐτὴν καθαραῖς φυλάξει ταῖς χερσί, θεῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὑφέξων λόγον. Ἴστω γὰρ ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ καὶ οἱ μετά σε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιβησόμενοι θρόνον, ὡς, εἴτε αὐτοὶ θαρρήσειαν

λαβεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν εἰς τὰς εἰρημένας ἀρχὰς παριόντων εἴτε οἱ παραδυναστεύοντες αὐτοῖς εἴτε καὶ ἡ τάξις ἡ σὴ περαιτέρω τῶν προφάσει συνηθειῶν παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ὡρισμένων (ἅπερ δὴ καὶ ἀρκεῖν μόνα νομίζοντες δίδοσθαι διωρίσαμεν), ὡς οὐκ ἐν μικροῖς ἡ ποινὴ γενήσεται· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μέγιστοι ἄρχοντες οἱ λαβεῖν τι θαρρήσαντες παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς παριόντων ἢ καὶ συγχωρήσαντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ τάξει τοιοῦτό τι πράττειν, καὶ προςαγγελθὲν οὐ θεραπεύοντες, ὡς οὐ μόνον τετραπλάσιον ἀποδώσουσι πᾶν ὅσον εἰλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλην ἀγανάκτησιν ὑποστήσονται καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ κίνδυνον εὐλαβηθήσονται. καὶ οἵ γε ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὄντες καὶ ἡ πειθομένη τάξις αὐτοῖς, εἰ πλεῖόν τι τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν δεδομένων ἐπιχειρήσαιεν λαβεῖν, αὐτοί τε ὑποκείσονται τοῖς ἐζημιωμένοις τῇ εἰς τὸ τετραπλοῦν ἀποδόσει ἐκπεσοῦνταί τε καὶ οὐσίας καὶ ζώνης, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τιμωρίαις ὑποβάλλεσθαι πρεπούσαις τοῖς πλημμελήμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν.

CAPUT VIII.

$\overline{\Theta}$ Τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀμίσθους παραλαμβάνοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς πρῶτον ἁπάντων σπούδασμα ἔχειν χρὴ τὸ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγρύπνως προσέχειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγνωμονοῦντας καὶ δεομένους ἀνάγκης μετὰ πάσης εἰςπράττειν τῆς σφοδρότητος, μηδὲν ὑποκατακλινομένους μηδὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου κέρδος τι παντάπασιν ἐννοοῦντας, τοῖς δὲ εὐγνώμοσι πατρικῶς προςφερομένους· ἔπειτα τὸ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους φυλάττειν πανταχόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν παρ' οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν κομιζομένους. ἀλλ' ἴσοι μὲν ἐν ταῖς δίκαις, ἴσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς δημώδεσι καταστάσεσιν ἔστωσαν, ἐπεξιόντες τε τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνευθύνους πανταχόθεν φυλάττοντες καθαρούς, τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις δὲ ἐπιτιθέντες πρὸς τὸν νόμον τὴν ποινήν, καὶ οὕτως ἄρχοντες τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἂν πατέρες υἱῶν, ἀγαπῶντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνευθύνους ὄντας, ὑπευθύνους δὲ φαινομένους σωφρονίζοντές τε καὶ τιμωρούμενοι, καὶ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην ἔν τε τοῖς δημοσίοις ἔν τε τοῖς ἰδίοις συμβολαίοις αὐτοῖς διατηροῦντες· καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνοι τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ παρεδρεύοντα τοιοῦτον λαμβάνοντες καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν ἐκείνους μὲν δῆθεν ἀνευθύνους εὖναι, δι' ἑτέρων δὲ πλημμελεῖν τε καὶ κλέπτειν, τοῦτο ὅπερ ἔτι μᾶλλον αἰσχρότερόν ἐστι τὸ καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῶν ἀδικημάτων λαμβάνειν. Ὥςτε ἐξέσται τῇ σῇ ὑπεροχῇ τῶν σεμνοτέρων τινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς πέμπειν καὶ τῶν ἐπισταμένων τὰ δημόσια, βουλευτῶν τε φαμὲν καὶ ἑτέρων προςώπων, πεῖραν ἑαυτῶν δεδωκότων ἀγαθὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιτηδείων. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ σευνότητος ἐμπεπλῆσθαι μεγ 1 άλης

νομίσειεν, εἴπερ ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλθοι, μεμαρτυρημένος μὲν ὡς εἴη χρηστός, προῖκα δὲ αὐτὴν δεχόμενος, οὐκ ἐνησχολημένος δὲ παντελῶς οὐδενὶ φαύλῳ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οὐδὲ ὅπως τὸ δοθὲν ἀθροίσειεν, οὐδὲ ὅθεν συλλέξειε χρυσίον, ἀλλ' ἵνα δὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἔχοι σπούδασμα τὸ τῷ θεῷ τε καὶ ημῖν ἑαυτὸν συστῆσαι, καὶ δόξης ἀπολαῦσαι χρηστῆς, καὶ ἀμοιβὰς ἐλπίσαι μεγάλας ; Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτά τι πράξειεν, ἴστω καὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστι δικαστής, κλοπῆς αἰτίαν ὑποστησόμενος· καὶ εἴγε φανείνη δοὺς χουσίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς (ἑκάτερον γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑπεύθυνον), ὅτι καὶ δήμευσιν καὶ ἐξορίαν ὑποστήσεται καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ σῶμα βασανόν τε καὶ τιμωρίαν, καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν λαβόντα παρ' αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, κακοῖς ὑποθήσει μεγάλοις. Καθαρὰς γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν εἶναι ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀρχαῖς τὰς χεῖρας, ἵνα τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀζημίους τε καὶ εὐθηνουμένους φυλάξαιμεν. Καὶ αὗται μὲν ἔκ τε τῶν νόμων ἔκ τε τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπικείσονται ποιναὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἀρχαῖς οὖσιν, εἴ τι τοι οὗτο πράξαιεν. Δίδομεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπαρχεώταις ἄδειαν, εἴ τι κατὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄδικον ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων διαπράξηται καὶ ζημίαις τισὶν ἢ ἐπηρείαις περιβάλλοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑποτελεῖς, ὥςτε τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πρωτεύοντας δεήσεις εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναπέμπειν, καταλέγοντας τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος τὰ πλημμελήματα. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ταῦτα μανθάνοντες στελοῦμεν ἐν τῇ χώρα τὸν ταῦτα ἐξετάσοντα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἠδίκησεν, ἐκεῖσε καὶ τὰς ποινὰς ὑποσχεῖν τῶν πλημμελημάτων· ὥςτε μηδὲ ἕτερόν τινα τοιοῦτό τι πρᾶξαι θαρρῆσαι πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα βλέποντα.

CAPUT IX.

Ἀνάγκην ἔχοντος τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διέποντος κατὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν διατάξεις, ἐπειδὰν κατάθοιτο τὴν ζώνην, τὰς πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ διατρίβειν δημοσίᾳ φαινόμενον, καὶ τὰς παρὰ πάντων δεχόμενον ἐναγωγάς. εἰ μέντοι, πρὶν πληρώσειε τὰς πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας, ἀποδιδράσκων ἁλοίη καθάπερ τι τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἀνδραπόδων, δίδομεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ὑποτελέσι κατέχειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ [ἢ τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ] καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι δεδώκασιν αὐτῷ προφάσει κλοπῆς τοῦτο εἰςπράττειν, παρόντος μέντοι τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγγράφως διασκοποῦντος, ἕως ἂν ἀποδοίη πᾶν ὅπερ κεκλοφὼς φανείη. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐπαρχεώτας, εἴπερ αἴσθοιντο τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων κλοπῆς, ἄδειαν ἔχειν, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνάγκην, ταῦτα μηνύειν εἰς ἡμᾶς· ὥςτε ἡμᾶς μανθάνοντας, ὅτι περ ὅλως χρυσίου πιπράσκει

τὸ δίκαιον, ταῖς εἰρημέναις αὐτὸν ὑποβάλλειν ποιναῖς, πρὸς τῷ καὶ ταῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τιμωρίαις ἔνοχον εἶναι, παραβάντα τοὺς ὅρκους ἐφ' οἷς ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰσχύσειε καθ' οἱανοῦν αἰτίαν μὴ πεπληρωκὼς τὰς πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας φυγεῖν, τηνικαῦτα συλληφθείς, ἔνθα ἂν διατρίβων φανείη, ἐπαναχθήσεται μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἧς ἦρχεν, ἅπαν δέ, ὅσον ἂν εὑρεθείη λαβών, ἀποδώσει τετραπλάσιον.

CAPUT X.

Ἐκείνου δηλαδὴ φυλαττομένου τοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπηκόοις ἄδειαν ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τινὶ πλὴν ἢ κλοπῇ ταῦτα περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας πράττειν. Οὐ γὰρ εἰ φανείη σφοδρότερος τοῖς ἀγνώμοσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημοσίων εἴσπραξιν ἢ διὰ τὴν τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἐπεξέλευσιν, δώσομεν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πράττειν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τοὐναντίον μὲν οὖν καὶ ποιναῖς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πασῶν πικροτάταις ὑπάξομεν, εἰ τοὺς καθαραῖς χορσαμένους ταῖς χερσὶν καὶ τῇ τῶν δημοσίων εἰσπράξει μετὰ πάσης προσενεχθέντας ἀκριβείας, εἶτα καταθεμένους τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑβρίσαι θαρρήσαιεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺν εὐφημίᾳ πάσῃ μετὰ τὸν νενομισμένον χρόνον τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀπολιμπάνοντας ἀποπέμψαιεν. Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μετὰ τόνδε ἡμῶν τὸν νόμον γινομένους λαμπροτάτους τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντας ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, πόσης μὲν ἀπολαύσουσι δόξης τοιοῦτοι φαινόμενοι, πόσαις δὲ περιπεσοῦνται δυσκολίαις τὸν νόμον τοῦτον παραλῦσαι τό γε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς θαρρήσαντες. εἴη γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀτόπων, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' εὐτελέσιν ἁλόντας κλοπαῖς αὐτοὶ κολάζοιεν, καὶ βασάνοις αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλοιεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον συγχωροῖεν ἕως ἂν ἀποδοῖεν τὰ φώρια, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνεύθυνοι μένοιεν ἐπὶ μεγάλων γενόμενοι κλοπῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐρυθριῶντες παράδειγμα· ὧν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι σεμνοῖς τε καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπαινουμένοις φανῆναι καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔχειν καλὴν ΙΑ̃ 1 μαρτυρίαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα. Οὐ συγχωροῦμεν δὲ οὔτε τοῖς περιβλέπτοις δουξὶν οὔτε ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν οἱανοῦν αὐτοῖς πλεονεξίαν ἢ ἀδικίαν ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἢ πολιτικοῖς ὅλως πράγμασι κοινωνεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν σεμνότητα φυλάττοιμεν κἀκεῖνοι τὴν καθαρότητα τε ἡμῖν καὶ εὔνοιαν ἀντιδιδοῖεν. Ἴστω γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον, ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν καὶ τὸ πανταχόθεν αὐτῶν ἀζήμιον καὶ τὸ διὰ πάσης αὐτοὺς ἄγειν εὐπαθείας καὶ μὴ καταναγκάζεσθαι τὰς χώρας ἀπολιμπάνειν μηδὲ ἐν ξένῃ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο τὸν παρόντα νόμον ἐγράψαμεν, θεῷ τε αὐτὸν ἀνατιθέντες καὶ ταῖς παρούσαις σεβασμιωτάταις τῆς μεγάλης αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινοτάτης ἑορτῆς ἡμέραις· ἵνα πᾶσιν ἐξῇ πατέρας δέχεσθαι

μᾶλλον ἄρχοντας ἢ κλέπτοντάς τε καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐσίαις ἐφεδρεύοντας. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑποτελεῖς εἰδότας, πόσην ὑμῶν ἐθέμεθα πρόνοιαν, μετὰ πάσης εὐγνωμοσύνης τοὺς δημοσίους ἀνελλιπῶς φόρους εἰςάγειν, καὶ μηδὲ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀνάγκης δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως εὐγνώμονας ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν, ὥςτε ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐνδείξασθαι τῶν ἔργων, οτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τοσαύτης φιλανθρωπίας τὴν οἰκείαν ἡμῖν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἀντιδίδοτε, καὶ εἰκότως ἕξετε πᾶσαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προφάσει τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης σπουδήν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, ἐκεῖνο γινώσκοντες ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπίκειται πανταχόθεν ὁ τῶν δημοσίων κίνδυνος καὶ τῶν ἀνωμολογημένων ἐστίν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ σθῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπειςέρχονται, καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῦτο γινώσκοντας ἐκ τρόπου παντὸς εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην, καὶ μὴ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γνώμας οὕτω παρέχειν ἀπειθεῖς, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι σφοδρότητος, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστι προςλαμβάνειν διὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον τῶν δημοσίων εἴςπραξιν. εἰδότων ὑμῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ὡς αἱ στρατιωτικαὶ δαπάναι καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δίωξις πολλῆς δεῖται τῆς ἐπιμελείας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι χρημάτων χωρὶς ταῦτα πραχθῆναι, τοῦ πράγματος μηδεμιᾶς ἀναβολῆς δεομένου, οὐδὲ ἡμῶν αἱρουμένων περιορᾶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐλαττωθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ Λιβύην τε πᾶσαν ἀνακτησαμένων καὶ Βανδίλους καταδουλωσάντων καὶ πολλά γε ἔτι καὶ μείζονα τούτων ἐλπιζόντων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, εἰς ἃ προςῆκόν ἐστι τοὺς δημοσίους φόρους ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὡρισμένας εἰςπράττεσθαι προθεσμίας. ὥςτε εἴπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν εὐγνωμόνως ἀπαντήσοιτε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ῥαδίαν τε καὶ ἐκ προχείρου τὴν τῶν δημοσίων εἰςκομιδὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ποιοῖντο, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπαινέσομεν τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀποδεξόμεθα τῆς γνώμης· καὶ πανταχόθεν μία τις ἔσται καλή τε καὶ σύμφωνος τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἁρμονία.

CAPUT XI.

Τῷ μεγάλῳ τοίνυν θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀναπεμπέτωσαν ὕμνους υπὲρ τούτου δὴ τοῦ νόμου, ὃς αὐτοῖς δώσει καὶ τὰς πατρίδας οἰκεῖν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τὰς οἰκείας περιουσίας ἔχειν βεβαίως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπολαύειν δικαιοσύνης. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐθέμεθα, ὅπως ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δικαιοσύνης ἰσχύσωμεν τῷ δεσπότῃ θεῷ οἰκειῶσαι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν συστῆσαι βασιλείαν, ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν περιορᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀδικουμένους, οὓς ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ θεός, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῶν

διὰ πάντων φειδώμεθα, τῇ αὐτοῦ κατακολουθοῦντες ἀγαθότητι. Ὥςτε τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀφοσιούσθω τῷ θεῷ, διότι μηδὲν τῶν εἰς νοῦν ἡμῖν ἐρχομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπὲρ κηδεμονίας τῶν ὑπηκόων παραλιμπάνομεν. βουλόμενοι γὰρ τὰς ἀνελευθέρους ταύτας καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις κλοπὰς ἀνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑποτελεῖς ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ παρὰ τῶν τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων φυλάξαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπεύσαμεν προῖκα τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς δοῦναι, ὅπως ἂν μηδὲ αὐτοῖς ἐξῇ πλημμελεῖν τε καὶ ἁρπάζειν τὸ ὑπήκοον· οὗπερ ἕνεκα πάντα αἱρούμεθα πόνον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν βεβασιλευκότας, οἵπερ χρημάτων προὐβάλλοντο τὰς ἀρχάς, ἑαυτοῖς ἀναιροῦντες τὴν ἄδειαν τοῦ γε τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν δίκαια, ἀλλ' αὐτοί τε οἷς ἐλάμβανον ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι δίκαιοι καθεστῶτες, τούς τε οἰκείους ὑποτελεῖς δι' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἐξαρπάζειν τῶν κακῶς ἀρχόντων οὐ δυνάμενοι οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν σωφρονεῖν προφάσει τῆς εἰρημένης αἰτίας. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκοῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ πόρον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ μόνους ἐντελεῖς τοὺς δημοσίους κομίζεσθαι φόρους, ἀλλὰ μή τι καὶ ἔξωθεν προςεπιζητεῖν, ὅπερ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πάντα κατασείδει τὸν βίον.

CAPUT XII.

ΙΒ Τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένον ἔτι μείζονι χρῆναι καὶ ἀκριβεστέρᾳ περιλαβεῖν ᾠήθημεν νομοθεσίᾳ, ὥςτε τὸν ἡμέτερον σκοπὸν ἅπασι γενέσθαι φανερόν. Θεσπίζομεν γὰρ τοὺς λαμπροτάτους τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντας, χωρὶς ἁπάσης γινομένους χρημάτων δόσεως καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν διδομένων ὅρκων μεμνημένους, ἔχειν καὶ ταύτην παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι μηδενὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς παντελῶς φόρου [ἤτοι κριτηρίου] παραγραφὴν μήτε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτανομέναις παρά τινων βίαις μήτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδικίαις μήτε ἐπὶ ταῖς στάσεσι ταῖς δημοσίαις μήτε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν δημοσίων φόρων εἰσπράξεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁμοίως ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ τούτων δικαιοδοσίᾳ, οὐκ ἀναμενόντων οὔτε προςτάξεις λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἷς ὑπόκεινται, οὔτε μηνύειν εἰς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ, δι' οὗ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν παρέχομεν. οὐδενὸς ἄδειαν ἔχοντος παντελῶς ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων αἰτιῶν οὔτε προνομίῳ χρῆσθαί τινι οὔτε ἐκεῖθεν ἑαυτῷ κατορθοῦν τὸ πλημμελεῖν ἀνευθύνως. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πάσης ἀπεχόμενοι λήψεως ἄρχοντες ἕτερόν τι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου προθήσουσι δέους, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐκεῖνο βλέποντες φυλάξουσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸ δίκαιον, πάντα κατὰ τοὺς ἡμε 1 τέρους κρίνοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες νόμους.

Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ὄντας αὐτοῖς ὑποτάττομεν, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖσε δεομένοις προστάξεώς τινος ἰδίας ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρχόντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρόντι νόμῳ χρωμένοις καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς δεικνύουσιν, ὥστε ἐπαμύνειν αὐτοῖς χρωμένοις τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρρησίᾳ, γινώσκοντας ὡς, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο πράξαιεν, καὶ σιτήσεων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς στρατείας ὑπομενοῦσιν ἔκπτωσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς σῶμα κίνδυνον ὑποστήσονται. Ὥστε ἡμῖν μηδενὸς ἑτέρου παντελῶς δεῖν ἄρχοντος, καὶ ληστοδιώκτας ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους βιοκωλύτας, μᾶλλον δὲ λωποδύτας, ἢ ἀφοπλιστὰς ἐκπέμπειν, προφάσεσι μὲν δῆθεν εὐλόγοις χρωμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ πάντων χείριστα πράττοντας. τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὴν ἑκάστου τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν πληρούντων τάξιν, καὶ ἀντὶ πάσης ἑτέρας δὲ ἀρχῆς ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἀρκούντων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψηφιζομένων, τίς ἂν θαρρήσειεν ἢ φόρου παραγραφῇ ἢ τοιούτῳ τινὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρήσασθαι ;

CAPUT XIII.

<ΙΓ> *Ἀπαγορεύομεν δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς Ἕω καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἄρχουσιν, ἢ ληστοδιώκτας ἢ βιοκωλύτας ἢ ἀφοπλιστὰς ἤ τινας τοιούτους ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐκπέμπειν. Ἴστωσαν γὰρ οἵ τε γενέσθαι μετὰ τόνδε ἡμῶν τὸν νόμον θαρρήσαντες, ὡς συλληφθέντες παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ δεσμωτήριον οἰκήσουσι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ πράγματος μηνυομένου τὸν ἔσχατον ὑποστήσονται κίνδυνον· οἵ τε τὰς τοιαύτας αὐτοῖς παραδιδόντες προστάξεις* triginta librarum auri *ὑποστήσονται ποινήν, καὶ μείζονος δὲ ἔτι καὶ σφοδροτέρας ἡμῶν ἀγανακτή-* ΙΔ *σεως πειραθήσονται. Δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τοσαύτης ἀξιωθέντας παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίας οὕτω τῷ πράγματι χρῆσθαι, ὡς δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερούς, εἰδότας ὡς, εἰ τῇ δεδομένῃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχῇ κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως τῆς ἐπιτραπείσης αὐτοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν παρρησίας χρήσονται, ὑποκείσονται ταῖς τιμωρίαις αἷς ἔμπροσθεν εἴπομεν, καὶ ἕως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι ταύτας ὑπομένοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτὴν κατάθοιντο, μειζόνων ἔτι πειρώμενοι κινδύνων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ δίδομεν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν, πρὶν τὸν νενομισμένον τῶν πεντήκοντα ἡπερῶν πληρώσουσι χρόνον, τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὧν ἦρξαν ἀναχωρεῖν ἢ κατὰ πρόφασιν* revocatorias *[ἤτοι ἀνακλήσεως] ἢ κατὰ πρόφασιν φυγῆς ἢ κατὰ ἄλλην οἱανοῦν αἰτίαν· γινώσκουσιν ὡς, καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ ταύτης γένοιντο τῆς εὐδαίμονος πόλεως εἴτε ἐν οἱᾳδήποτε χώρᾳ,*

πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὖθις ἐπαναχθέντες ἧς ἦρξαν ποινὰς ὑφέξουσιν, ἃς ἔμπροσθεν εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν.

CAPUT XIV.

Τὸν δὲ ὅρκον δώσουσιν ἐνταῦθα μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἀνω- ΙΕ *τέρω ῥηθέν. Εἰ δέ τισιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις οὖσι πέμποιτο τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σύμβολα, ἐπί τε τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρωτευόντων τὸν ὅρκον ὑφέξουσι, καὶ οὕτω τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιλήψονται πράξεων· δηλαδὴ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς προνοούσης τοῦ, εἴτε ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως ποραλάβοι τις ἀρχήν, εἴτε κατὰ χώραν αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα ταύτης πεμφθείη παρὰ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς, αὐτὸν τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιποιεῖν τῷ δημοσίῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν φόρων ἀμέμπτου εἰςπράξεως, καθάπερ ἂν αὐτὸς καθαρῶς δοκιμάσειας. Κείσθω δὲ ὁ νόμος ἡμῖν οὗτος ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ῥητῶς ὀνομασθησομένας ἀρχὰς ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου ἀμίσθους παραληψομένοις. τὰ γὰρ δὴ προειληφότα τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν κειμένοις ὑποκείσθω νομοις, οὐδεμιᾶς ποινῆς τῶν ἐν τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ διωρισμένων ἐπικειμένης τοῖς μέχρι νῦν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐμφάνισιν τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου κλέπτοντες ἁλοῖεν.*

<'Επίλογος>. Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ πάντα μανθάνουσα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις φανερὰ παρασκευασάτω γενέσθαι, κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον προςτάγμασι χρωμένη πρὸς πάντας τοὺς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγουμένους· ὥςτε αὐτοὺς γινώσκοντας τὴν ἡμετέραν περὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σπουδὴν καὶ ἣν ἔχομεν περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων χειροτονίαν γνώμην, εἰδέναι, πόσων αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν μεταδεδώκαμεν, οὐδὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν εὐδαιμονίαν θεισάμενοι.

Dat. xvii. k. Mai. CP. Belisario v. c. cons. [*a.* 535].

Ἴδικτον γραφὲν τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις πατριάρχαις.

Τῆς παραδοθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκ θεοῦ πολιτείας κηδόμενοι καὶ ἐν ἁπάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ ζῆν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους σπεύδοντες, τὸν ὑποτεταγμένον νόμον ἐγράψαμεν, ὃν δὴ τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἅπασι τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σῆς ποιῆσαι φανερὸν καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνομίσαμεν. τῆς οὖν σῆς θεοφιλίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων ἔστω ταῦτα παρατηρεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι παραβαίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἰς ἡμᾶς μηνύειν, ὅπως ἂν μή τι παροραθείη τῶν ὁσίως τε καὶ δικαίως ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομοθετηθέντων. Εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν τοὺς ημετέρους ὑπηκόους ἐλεοῦντες,

ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῶν δημοσίων φόρων ἐκτίσει καὶ μεγάλας ὑπέμενον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων κλοπῆς ἀδικίας διὰ τὰς γινομένας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν πράσεις, ταύτας ἀνελεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὑποτεταγμένου ἐσπεύσαμεν νόμου, ὑμεῖς δὲ ῥᾳθυμοῦντες μὴ προςαγγείλητε, ἡμῖν μὲν ἀφοσιούσθω τὸ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀπολογήσεσθε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικίας, εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς βλάβος τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνθρώποις ἐπάγοιτο. ἀλλὰ δεῖ παρόντας ὑμᾶς τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγωνιῶντας φανεροὺς ἡμῖν καθιστᾶν καὶ τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τόνδε ἡμῶν τὸν νόμον, ὅπως ἂν ἑκατέρους γινώσκοντες τοὺς μὲν κολάζωμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμειβώμεθα. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ νόμος δημοσίᾳ προτεθείη καὶ ἅπασι γένοιτο φανερός, τηνικαῦτα ληφθεὶς ἔνδον ἀποκείσθω ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, οἷα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνατεθειμένος θεῷ καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἀνθρώπων γεγραμμένος. ποιήσαιτε δὲ ἂν κάλλιον καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις συμφορώτερον, εἴπερ αὐτὸν ἐγκολάψαντες ἢ σανίσιν ἢ λίθοις ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἀναγράψαιτε, πρόχειρον παρεχόμενοι πᾶσι τὴν τῶν νομοθετηθέντων ἀνάγνωσίν τε καὶ κτῆσιν.

CAPUT I.

Εἰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καθαρότητος τοσαύτην ἐθέμεθα πρόνοιαν, πρόδηλον ὡς πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐκδίκοις οὐκ ἐφήσομεν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν οὔτε λαμβάνειν οὔτε διδόναι. δώσουσι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεχομένων αὐτοῖς προσταγμάτων ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων, εἰ μὲν μείζονες αἱ πόλεις εἶεν, solidos quattuor, εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, solidos tres, καὶ πέρα τούτων οὐδέν· λήψονται δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν παρ' οὐδενός, πλὴν εἰ μή τις ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου νενομισμένος αὐτοῖς προσίῃ πόρος· ἢ εἴπερ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαμβάνοιεν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω τῶν τῇ θείᾳ ἡμῶν διηγορευμένων διατάξει κομίζεσθαι. ἐπείτοιγε εἴ τι λαβόντες ἁλοῖεν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ καλούμενοι αὐτῶν χαρτουλάριοι ἢ ἕτερός τις τῶν περὶ αὐτούς, ἐκεῖνο τετραπλάσιον ἀποδώσουσιν ὅπερ ἔλαβον, καὶ τοῦ φροντίσματος ἀπελαθήσονται· καὶ πρός γε καὶ ἐξορίᾳ διηνεκεῖ ζημιωθέντες καὶ εἰς σῶμα σωφρονισθέντες δώσουσι χώραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀντὶ κακῶν τοῦ φροντίσματος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. Ἔσεσθε δὲ καὶ τούτου φύλακες ὑμεῖς, καὶ κωλύντες τὰ παρὰ ταῦτα γινόμενα καὶ μηνύοντες, ὥστε μὴ διαλαθεῖν τι τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων μηδὲ ἐκ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀτιμώρητον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἰσότητά τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπηκόοις ἐπανθῆσαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν ἄρχοντες μὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐμφάνισιν τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου πάσης ἀπόσχωντα.

κλοπῆς, ἴστωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου ποιναῖς ὑποκείμενοιι [τοῦτο τὸ ἴδικτον πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους].

Dat. xv. k. Mai. CP. Belisario v. c. cons. [*a.* 535].

Ἐγράφη τὸ ἶσον τοῦ ἰδίκτου Κωνσταντινουπολίταις, ἔχον οὕτως·

Ὅσην ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐθέμεθα πρόνοιαν, δείκνυσιν ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔναγχος τεθεὶς νόμος, ὃν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους ἡμῶν ἐπάρχους ἐγράψαμεν. ἀλλὰ προσῆκόν ἐστι καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι τὴν ἡμετέραν πρόνοιαν, ἣν περὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔχομεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν ἰδίκτου προτεθείκαμεν σχήματι· ὥστε ὑμᾶς τῷ δεσπότῃ θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δικαίως ἀναπέμπειν ὕμνους, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ, ὅτι πάντα διὰ τὸ ὑμέτερον συμφέρον αἱρούμεθα πόνον.

Γνῶσις τῆς παρ' ἑκάστης τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀρχῶν ὀφειλούσης παρέχεσθαι λόγῳ συνηθειῶν ποσότητος, [παρὰ] τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε δοῦναί τι πλέον.

1 *Ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμητος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς οὕτως·*
ἐν τῷ θείῳ ἡμῶν κουβουκλείῳ — *νομ. ξγ'*
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων μετὰ τῶν τεσσάρων σκρινίων τοῦ θείου λατερκούλου — *νομ. ν'*
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ — *νομ. γ'*
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος — *νομ. π'*

2 *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου Ἀσίας οὕτως· ἐν τῷ θείῳ ἡμῶν κουβουκλείῳ* — *νομ. ξγ'*
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων μετὰ τῶν τεσσάρων σκρινίων τοῦ θείου λατερκούλου — *νομ. μ'*
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ — *νομ. γ'*
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προσταγματος — *νομ. π'*

3 *Ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμητος Φρυγίας Πακατιανῆς οὕτως·*
τοῖς <περιβλέπτοις> χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου ἡμῶν κουβουκλείου — *νομ. θ'*

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. ν'

4 Ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμητος Γαλατίας πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τὼν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προσταγματος νομ. ν'

5 Ἀπὸ τοῦ βικαρίου τοῦ Μακροῦ Τείχους οὕτως· τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ· θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ ταξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

Καὶ ὅσαι ἀρχαὶ ὑπατικαὶ ἤτοι κονσουλάριαι·

6 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Παλαιστίνης πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

7 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Παλαιστίνης δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. μ'

8 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Φοινίκης παράλου οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. μ'

9 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Συρίας δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. μ'

10 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Θεοδωριάδος οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. μ'

11 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ὀσροηνῆς οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. μ'

12 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κιλικίας πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

13 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κύπρου οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

14 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Παμφυλίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τριδὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τη τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

15 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βιθυνίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

16 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ἑλλησπόντου οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

17 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Λυδίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'

τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

18 'Απὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Φρυγίας σαλουταρίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτατων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βονθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

19 'Απὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Πισιδίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

20 'Απὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Λυκαονίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

21 'Απὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Νέας 'Ιουστινιανῆς οὕτως
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νυταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

22 'Απὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος 'Αρμενίας δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

23 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ἀρμενίας μεγάλης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

24 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Καππαδοκίας πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

25 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Καππαδοκίας δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

26 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ἑλενοπόντου οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

27 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Εὐρώπης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. κδ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

28 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Θρᾴκης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

29 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ῥοδόπης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

30 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Αἱμιμόντου οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τὼν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προσταγματος νομ. μ'

31 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχοντος Καρίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

32 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Λυκίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

33 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Αὐγουσταμνικῆς πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. κδ'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. μ'

Καὶ ὅσαι ἀρχαὶ ἡγεμονικαὶ ἤτοι correctoriαι·

34 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Λιβύης τῆς ἄνω οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λς'

35 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Αἰγύπτου πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λς'

36 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Αἰγύπτου δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

37 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Αὐγυσταμνικῆς δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

38 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Παλαιστίνης τρίτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

39 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ἀραβίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

40 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Εὐφρατησίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βὸηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

41 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Μεσοποταμίας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαπτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτατίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῖ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. λς'

42 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κιλικίας δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαπτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. λς'

43 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ἀρμενίας πρώτης οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. λς'

44 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Γαλατίας δευτέρας οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. λς'

45 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ὁνωριάδος οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'
τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγ-
ματος νομ. λς'

46 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν Νησων οὕτως·
τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου
κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'
τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοτα-
ρίων νομ. ιε'
τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

47 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Μυσίας δευτέρας οὕτως·

τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'

τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

48 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σκυθίας οὕτως·

τοῖς περιβλέπτοις χαρτουλαρίοις τρισὶ τοῦ θείου κουβουκλείου νομ. θ'

τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων νοταρίων νομ. ιε'

τῷ αὐτοῦ βοηθῷ νομ. γ'

τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ὑπὲρ προστάγματος νομ. λϛ'

49 Παρὰ δὲ ἑκάστης πόλεως ἐκδίκου, εἰ μὲν εἴη μητροπολίτης, ὑπὲρ προστάγματος εἰς τὰ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων δίδοσθαι νομίσματα δ', εἰ δὲ ἄλλης πόλεως, νομ. γ'· καὶ πέρα τούτων μηδέν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκδίκους οὔτε διδόναι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ οὔτε λαμβάνειν βουλόμεθα, πλὴν εἰ μή τινες εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου παρεχόμεναι συνήθειαι· εἰδότων αὐτῶν ὡς, εἰ μηνυθείη τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει περί τινος αὐτῶν, ὡς παραβαίνοι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν θεσπισθέντα, καὶ ὅπερ ἂν λάβοι quadruplum ἀποδώσει, καὶ τῆς φροντίδος παραλυθεὶς ἐξορίαν οἰκήσει διηνεκῆ· ὁπότε καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντες, εἰ τούτου παραμελήσειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκδίκους περιΐδοιεν κλέπτοντας, οὐκ ἐλάττονα καὶ αὐτοὶ ποινὴν ὑποστήσονται.

Dat. xvii. k. Mai. CP. Belisario <v. c.> cons. [*a*. 535].

E. Novella XX [5]

De administrantibus officiis in sacris appelationibus

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΦΦΙΚΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΑΚΡΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΤΩΝ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν praetori*ων τὸ β', ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ.*

⟨Προοίμιον⟩. Ἤδη μὲν θεῖον ἐποιησάμεθα νόμον περὶ τῶν ἐφέσεων διαλεγόμενον, τίναι χρὴ παραφυλάττεσθαι τρόπον ἐπ' αὐταῖς, καὶ ὅθεν εἰς τίνας φέρεσθαι τὰς ἐκκλήτους· ὃν πρός τε τὴν σὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρός τε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ἡμῶν κατεπέμψαμεν κοιαίστωρα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀμφισβήτησις περὶ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων ταύταις ὀφφικίων, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θείου τῶν ἐπιστολῶν σκρινίου τὰς τῶν spectabili*ων δικαστῶν οἰκειουμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλήτοις ὑπηρεσίας, τῶν δε ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς μέγιστα δηλούντων ἠδικῆσθαι, εἰ μεταβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος οὐκέτι μόνοι ταῖς ἐκκλήτοις ὑπηρετήσουσι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν λαμπρονάτων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἀρχόντων ἐρχομέναις εἰς μόνον τὸ σὸν δικαστήριον, καθάπερ πρότερον ἦν ἡνικὰ ἐν θείῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτος ἠκροῶ δικαστηρίῳ, ὑπηρετεῖτο δὲ ἡ τάξις ἡ σή, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῶν σπεκταβιλίων σχῆμα ἐν τάξει θείου ἀκροατηρίου τῆς ὑποθέσεως κινουμένης, καὶ συνακροωμένου τῇ σῇ ὑπεροχῇ καὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἡμῶν κοιαίστωρος, καὶ ἑκατέρου μέρους τὸ πᾶν οἰκειουμένου, καὶ συναχθέντων παρά τε τῇ σῇ ὑπεροχῇ καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἡμῶν κοιαίστωρι πολλάκις τῶν τε ἐκ τῶν θείων σκρινίων, οἵπερ ταῖς ἐφέσεσιν ὑπηρετοῦνται, τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ σοῦ· τέλος εἴς τινα τύπον τὸ πρᾶγμα περιέστη, ὃν ἀγράφως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἠγάγετε. τὸ πρᾶγμα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου γεγονὸς ἔδοξε. Καὶ τέως, ἐπειδήπερ Παφλαγονία καὶ Ὀνωριάς, διῃρημέναι πρότερον εἰς ἄρχοντας δύο, εἰς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν περιέστησαν τὸ τοῦ πραίτωρος ὄνομα προςλαβόντα, τοῦτο ἀναμφισβητήτως ἔδοξε τὸ σχῆμα τῇ σῇ προςήκειν ἀρχῇ. Ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ποτὲ δύο Πόντων, τουτέστιν Ἑλενοπόντου τε καὶ Πόντου Πολεμωνιακοῦ· κἀκεῖσε γὰρ δύο καθεστώτων ἔμπροσθεν ἀρχόντων, νῦν δὲ ἑνὸς τοῦ μοδεράτωρος γεγονότος, κεκοσμημένου καὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ τῶν περιβλέπτων ἀξίᾳ, πάλιν ταῦτα συνέβαινε καὶ εἰς τὸ σὸν μόνον δικαστήριον φέρεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλήτων δίκας ἐχρῆν, κατὰ μέντοι τοὺς ὅπους τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐκκλήτων διατάξεως.*

[5] *CJC*, 6th ed. III, pp. 140 sqq.

CAPUT I

Συνήρεσε τοίνυν ἅμα μὲν τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσιν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἅμα δὲ ὑμῖν ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ πρός γε καὶ ἡμῖν ὀρθῶς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν τὸ παραστὰν ἡμῖν, ὥστε μόνην τὴν τάξιν τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπηρετεῖν ἐκκλήτοις, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἐν σχήματι θείου ἀκροατηρίου λέγοιτο καὶ παρείη καὶ ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἡμῶν κοιαίστωρ καὶ μετέχοι τῶν πραττομένων.

CAPUT II

᾿Αλλα μὴν ἐπείπερ ὁ τῆς πρώτης Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενος πρότερον εἰς τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ἑώρα μόνην κἀκεῖσε τὸ τῶν ἐφέσεων ἐφέρετο, νῦν δὲ εἰς τὸ τοῦ περιβλέπτου ἀνθυπάτου μεταβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐδεν ἧττον προσῆκόν ἐστι, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἔφεσιν δεχομένης καὶ ἀναπεμπομένης τῆς δίκης ἐνταῦθα, κατὰ τὴν θείαν ἡμῶν διάταξιν ἐν τάξει θείου ἀκροατηρίου αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, συνόντος καὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἡμῶν κοιαίστωρος και συνακροωμένου τῆς ὑποθέσεως, μόνης δὲ τῆς τάξεως ὑπηρετουμένης τῆς σῆς, ἐπειδη καὶ πρότερον τοῦτο ἐνενόμιστο. Εἰ γαρ καὶ ὁ περίβλεπτος κόμης τῶν οἰκιῶν συναναμίχθη νῦν τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἀλλ᾿ οὖν οὔτε πρότερον πολλαί τινες ἐκινοῦντο δίκαι παρ᾿ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τοῦ κατ᾿ αὐτον ἐφέρετό τις σχεδὸν ἔφεσις ἐνταῦθα. νῦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταμιακὰς διοικήσεις καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττωθῆναι τὸν σὸν θρόνον, ἀλλ᾿ ὁμοίως τὴν σὴν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι τάξιν μόνην ταῖς ἐνταῦθα φερομέναις ὑποθέσεσι.

CAPUT III

Ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ᾿Αρμενίας ἀνθυπάτου, ἐπειδὴ πρότερον ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν ὀρδιναρίαν [ἔμβαθμον] ποιήσαντες νῦν οὐδεν αὐτῇ προσθέντες εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀνθυπατείας μετηγάγομεν σχῆμα. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταὶς ἐκεῖθεν δίκαις ἡ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ὑπηρετήσεται τάξις, τῆς δίκης μὲν ἐν τάξει θείου ἀκροατηρίου, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, κινουμένης, παρ᾿ ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ὑμῖν ἐξεταζομένης οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον τῆς τάξεως σῆς ὑπηρετουμένης τῷ πράγματι, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ἡνίκα μόνον τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς καλουμένης ὀρδιναρίας εἶχε σχῆμα μείζονα τάξιν οὐ προσλαβοῦνα.

CAPUT IV

᾿Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ Λυκαονίαν καὶ Πισιδίαν καὶ ᾿Ισαυρίαν ὑπὸ ἄρχουσι πρότερον τεταγμένας καὶ τὰς ἐκκλήτους ἀναπεμπούσας εἰς τὸν θρόνον

τὸν σὸν νυνὶ κοσμηθῆναι τῇ τῶν πραιτώρων ἀρχῇ συμβέβηκεν (εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ πως συναναμεμίχθαι τις αὐτῇ καὶ στρατιωτικὴ τάξις ἐπειδὴ πρότερον καὶ δοὺξ ἐφ' ἑκάστης τούτων ἐπαρχίας ἦν), ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχειν ἔδοξε διὰ τὸν καινισμὸν τοῦτον μόνῳ δὴ τῷ θρόνῳ σῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κοιαίστωρι παραδοῦναι τὴν τῶν ἐφέσεων ἐξέτασιν, δοῦναι δὲ φιλανθρωπότερον τῇ τάξει τῇ σῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πραττομένοις ὑπηρετεῖσθαι. ὥστε, εἴ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον ἔμπροσθεν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον γένηται, τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ πράγματι τάξιν ὑπεῖναι θεσπίζομεν.

CAPUT V

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ δύο καθαρῶς ἦσαν ἀρχαὶ τοῦ τε κόμητος τῆς Ἑῴας τοῦ τε ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς τῆς πρώτης Συρίας, καὶ αἱ μὲν τῆς πολιτικῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς ἐφέσεις εἰς τὸν σὸν ἐφέροντο θρόνον, τῆς τάξεως ὑπηρετούσης μόνης τῆς σῆς, αἱ δὲ τοῦ κόμητος τῆς Ἑῴας, οἷα σπεκταβιλίου, κατὰ τὸ τῶν θείων ἐκροατηρίων σχῆμα εἴς τε τὸν θρόνον τὸν σὸν εἴς τε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον κοαίστωρα, μόνων τῶν θείων σκρι (VI) *νίων ὑπηρετουμένων· ἀλλα τοῦτο *** ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινὴν δοῦναι τὴν ὑπουργίαν τοῖς τε ἐκ τοῦ τῶν θείων ἐπιστολῶν σκρινίου τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς. Τὸ γὰρ δὴ τῶν πρόσθεν δύο βικαρίων τε Ποντικῆς τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς παντελῶς καινισθὲν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν μόνης ἐπαρχίας μιᾶς μεταστάν, Γαλατίας φαμὲν καὶ Φρυγίας Πακατιανῆς, φοιτάτω μὲν πρός τε τὴν σὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρός τε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον κοιαίστωρα, μόνην δὲ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν δεχέσθω τῆς τάξεως τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ σοῦ.*

CAPUT VII

Κἀκεῖνο μέντοι θεσπίζομεν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξευρεθεισῶν καὶ μεταβαλουσῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον σχῆμα, εἴτε αὐτόθεν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τῆς οἰκείας δικάσαιεν ἀρχῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ παραπομπῆς ἡμετέρας, ταὐτο φυλάττεσθαι σχῆμα· καὶ ἔνθα μόνην ὑπηρετεῖν τὴν τάξιν τῆς σῆς ὑπερο (VIII) *χῆς ἐθεσπίσαμεν, ὁμοίως [εἴτε ἐκ παραπομπῆς] εἴτε ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δικαστηρίου φύσεως ἡ ἔφεσις ἀνέλθοι, τὴν τάξιν τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐφέσεσι θεσπίζομεν, εἴτε ἐκ παραπομπῆς ἡμετέ* (IX) *ρας, ὁμοίως τῆς τάξεως ἔσται τῆς σῆς. Ἐφ' οἷς τε κοινὴν εἴπομεν τήν τε τῶν <σῶν> τάξεων τήν τε ἐκ τῶν θείων σκρινίων ὑπουργίαν, ὁμοίως τὴν κοινότητα φυλάττομεν, εἴτε ἐκ παραπομπῆς εἴτε κατὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἐξετάσεως. Ἐπ' ἐκείνων μέντοι τῶν δικῶν, ἃς οὐ σπεκταβίλιοι δικασταὶ κρίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ συνήγοροι μόνον, ἐφ' ὧν ἐφέρετο τὰ*

τῆς ὑποθέσεως εἴς τε τὸν θρόνον τὸν σὸν εἴς τε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ἡμῶν κοιαίστωρα, τῶν καθωσιωμένων λιβελλησίων ὑπηρετουμένων αὐταῖς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν παντελῶς ἐπὶ ταύταις κεκαίνισται, τὸ παλαιὸν φυλάττομεν σχῆμα. ὥςπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν οὐ καινισθέντων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑπουργίας μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διατάττομεν, οὐδενὸς νεωτέρου γενομένου. ὁ γὰρ ἐπισυμβὰς καινισμὸς ἀλλοῖον πως χρῆναι γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπουργούντων ὑπέδειξε σχῆμα.

<'Επίλογος>. Τὰ τοίνυν παραστάντα ἡμῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ θείου δηλούμενα νόμου ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ ἔργῳ καὶ πέρατι παραδοῦναι σπευσάτω.

Dat. xv. k. April. Constantinopoli post cons. Belisarii v.c. [*a.* 536]

F. Novella XXI [6]

De Armeniis ut ipsi per omnia sequantur romanorum leges

$\overline{KA}$

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΟΜΟΙΣ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς 'Ακακίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ 'Αρμενίας.

<Προοίμιον>. Τὴν 'Αρμενίων χώραν τελείως εὐνομεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἡμῶν διεστάναι πολιτείας ἀρχαῖς τε 'Ρωμαϊκαῖς ἐκοσμήσαμεν, τῶν προτέρων αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάξαντες ὀνομάτων, σχήμασί τε χρῆσθαι τοῖς 'Ρωμαίων συνειθίσαμεν, θεσμούς τε οὐκ ἄλλους εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ οὓς 'Ρωμαῖοι νομίζουσιν ἐτάξαμεν. Καὶ ᾠήθημεν χρῆναι ῥητῷ νόμῳ κἀκεῖνο ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸ κακῶς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτανόμενον, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος ἀνδρῶν μὲν εἶναι τὰς διαδοχὰς τῶν τε γονέων τῶν τε ἀδελφῶν τοῦ τε ἄλλου γένους, γυναικῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔτι, μηδὲ χωρὶς προικὸς αὐτὰς εἰς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν μηδὲ ἀγοράζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν συνοικεῖν μελλόντων, τοῦτο ὅπερ βαρβαρικώτερον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐνομίσθη· οὐκ αὐτῶν μόνων ταῦτα ἀγριώτερον δοξασάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἀτιμασάντων τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ περιυβρισάντων, ὡς οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ

[6] *CJC*, 6th ed., III, pp. 144 sqq.

γενόμενον οὐδὲ συντελοῦν τῇ γενεσιουργίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς εὐτελές τε καὶ ἠτιμασμένον καὶ πάσης ἔξω προσῆκον καθεστάναι τιμῆς.

CAPUT I.

Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ θείου νόμου, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ Ἀρμενίοις τὰ αὐτὰ κρατεῖν ἅπερ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν προφάσει τῆς τῶν θηλειῶν διαδοχῆς, καὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι διαφορὰν ἄρρενός τε καὶ θηλείας. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις τέτακται, κατὰ ποῖον μὲν σχῆμα κληρονομοῦσι γονεῖς, ἤγουν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, καὶ πάππον καὶ μάμμην, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πορρωτέρω, ἢ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτούς, τουτέστιν υἱὸν καὶ θυγατέρα, ὅπως τε αὐτοὶ κληρονομοῦνται· οὕτως καὶ παρὰ Ἀρμενίοις εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν τὰ Ἀρμενίας νόμιμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεστάναι. Εἰ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας εἰσὶ δουλεύουσί τε ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ πάντων ἀπολαύουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὐ δήπου μόναι παρ' αὐτοῖς αἱ θήλειαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσότητος ἐκβληθήσονται· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔσται νόμων, ὅσα τε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν συνηθροίσαμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐτάξαμεν ἰνστιτούτοις τε καὶ διγέστοις ὅσα τε ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς νομοθεσίας τῶν τε ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ ἡμῶν [τε] αὐτῶν ἀπογέγραπται.

CAPUT II.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα κρατεῖν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα θεσπίζομεν χρόνον, ἀρχόμενα ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς παρούσης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως καὶ αὐτῆς, καθ' ἣν τόνδε γράφομεν τὸν νόμον. τὸ γὰρ καὶ τὰ παλαιότερα περιεργάσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω χρόνους ἀνελθεῖν συγχύσεως μᾶλλον ἢ νομοθεσίας ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν χρόνων, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, τῆς παρούσης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον αἱ διαδοχαὶ μενέτωσαν ὅμοιαι, τῶν ἐκ πάσης αἰτίας εἰς διαδοχὰς φερομένων ὁμοίως μὲν ἐπὶ γυναικῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ φυλαττομένων. Τὸ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν γενόμενον ἅπαν μένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος ἐῶμεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ γενεαρχικῶν εἴτε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γέγονεν, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐπικοινωνούντων τῶν θηλειῶν προσώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη διανεμηθεῖσι γενεσιαρχικοῖς χωρίοις ἢ ταῖς γενομέναις διαδοχαῖς μέχρι τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως καὶ αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ῥηθέντος χρόνου, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, κρατεῖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν νομοθετηθέντα θεσπίζομεν.

<Ἐπίλογος>. Τὰ τοίνυν παραστάντα ἡμῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ

θείου δηλούμενα νόμου ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιληψόμενοι παραφυλάττειν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς σπουδασάτωσαν.
Dat. xv. k. April. CP. post cons. Belisarii v. c. [*a.* 536]

G. Novella XXXI [7]

De dispositione quattuor administrationum Armeniae

ΛΑ̅

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΤΥΠΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΣ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἕω πραιτωρίων τὸ β', ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ.

<Προοίμιον>. Τὰ μάτην κείμενα καὶ ἐκκεχυμένως εἰ πρὸς τὴν προςήκουσαν ἀφίκοιτο τάξιν καὶ διατεθείη καλῶς, ἕτερά τε <ἂν> ἀνθ' ἑτέρων τὰ πράγματα φαίνοιτο καλλίω τε ἐκ χειρόνων ἐξ ἀκόσμων τε κεκοσμημένα διηρθρωμένα τε καὶ διακεκριμένα ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀτάκτων τε καὶ συγκεχυμένων. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας ἁμαρτανόμενον εὑρόντες ᾠήθημεν χρῆναι πρὸς μίαν ἁρμονίαν τάξαι αυτήν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐταξίας ἰσχύν τε αυτῇ δοῦναι τὴν προςήκουσαν τάξιν τε ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν πρέπουσαν.

CAPUT I.

Τοιγαροῦν τέσσαρας εἶναι πεποιήκαμεν Ἀρμενίας· τὴν μὲν ἐνδοτάτην, ἧς ἡ μητρόπολις τῇ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν προςηγορίας ἐπωνυμίᾳ κατακεκόσμηται πρότερον Βαζανὶς ἤτοι Λεοντόπολις καλουμένη, ἥνπερ καὶ ἀνθυπατείᾳ τετιμήκαμεν, ἧς Ἀκάκιος προέστηκεν ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, σπεκιαβιλίαν τε ἀποφήναντες τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάντα δόντες αὐτῇ ὁπόσα προςῆκόν ἐστιν ἀνθυπατείαν ἔχειν· στολῇ τε γαρ αὐτὴν κατεκοσμήσαμεν ἀνθυπάτου καὶ πάντα ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ἔχειν διετυπώσαμεν. καὶ πόλεις αὐτῇ δεδώκαμεν Θεοδοσιούπολίν τε, ἣν καὶ πρότερον εἶχε, Σάταλάν τε καὶ Νικόπολιν καὶ Κολώνειαν ἐκ τῆς πρώην πρώτης Ἀρμενίας καλουμένης λαβόντες, Τραπεζοῦντά τε καὶ Κερασοῦντα ἐκ Πόντου τοῦ πρώην Πολεμωνιακοῦ καλουμένου, χωρίσαντες αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντος τὰς δὲ τοῦ περιβλέπτου μοδεράτωρος, ἑπτά τε πόλεσι τὴν ὅλην ἐπαρχίαν περιστήσαντες καὶ ὁπόσα τῆς περιοικίδος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.

[7] *CJC*, 6th ed., III, pp. 235 sqq.

1 *Δευτέραν δὲ ἐτάξαμεν Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἔμπροσθεν πρώτην καλουμένην. ἧς ἡγεῖται Σεβάστεια, πόλεις αὐτῇ προςνείμαντες τήν τε τῶν Σεβαστοπολιτῶν ἣν καὶ πρότερον εἶχε, καὶ πρός γε Κόμανά τε ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου πρώην Πολεμωνιακοῦ Πόντου καὶ Ζήλαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλενοπόντου, καὶ μὴν καὶ Βρίσαν, ὥςτε ἐν πέντε πόλεσιν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὖσαν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς οὐδενὶ κοσμήσαντες ὀνόματι μείζονι, ἀλλ' ὃ πρότερον εἶχε τοῦτο αὐτῷ*
2 *καταλιπόντες. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε τρίτην Ἀρμενίαν κατεστησάμεθα τὴν πρότερον δευτέραν, ἧς ηγεῖται Μελιτηνὴ πόλις ἀρχαία, πόλις ἐπίσημος, ἐν καλῷ τε γῆς καὶ ἀέρος κειμένη καὶ οὐδὲ πόρρω διεστῶσα τῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ῥευμάτων. ταύτην ᾠήθημεν δεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν αὐξῆσαι καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν σπεκταβιλίων μεταστῆσαι σχῆμα, τόν τε ἄρχοντα ταύτης Ἰουστινιανὸν ὀνομάσαι κόμητα, δοῦναί τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ σιτήσεων* solidos septingentos *καὶ τῷ γε αὐτοῦ παρέδρῳ* solidos septuaginta duo *καὶ τῇ γε αὐτοῦ τάξει* solidos sexaginta *ἅπαντά τε ἔχειν ὁπόσα τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἴδια θρόνων. τούς τε πρώην ὀνομαζομένους ταξεώτας πάντα μὲν πράττειν ὁπόσα καὶ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν δημοσίαν εἴςπραξιν ἠσχολῆσθαι, εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν κομιτιανῶν προςηγορίαν μεταβαλεῖν, πάντων αὐτοῖς οὕτω φυλαττομένων ὡς ἡνίκα ταξεῶται καθεστήκεσαν. Πόλεις δὲ ὑπεκλίναμεν αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὲν Ἄρκαν καὶ Ἀραβισσόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀριαράθειαν καὶ Κόμανα ἑτέραν (καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Χρυσῆν) καὶ Κουκουσόν, ἃς καὶ πρότερον εἶχεν ἐν ἓξ πόλεσι*
3 *συνεστῶσα. Συνεστησάμεθα δὲ καὶ τετάρτην Ἀρμενίαν, ἣ πρότερον οὐκ εἰς ἐπαρχίας συνέκειτο σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε ἐθνῶν ἦν καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων συνείλεκτο βαρβαρικῶν ὀνομάτων, Τζοφανηνή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνὴ ἢ Τζοφηνὴ καὶ Ἀσθιανηνή, ἣ καὶ Βαλαβιτηνὴ καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὖσα· ἀρχῆς δὲ τοῦτο ὄνομα ἦν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαϊκὸν οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας πολιτείας εἰςενηνεγμένον. κακαείνην τοίνυν ἀρχῆς πολιτικῆς ἐκοσμήσαμεν σχήματι, ἄρχοντά τε πολιτικὸν ἐγκαταστήσαντες καὶ πόλιν τε αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν Μαρτυροπολιτῶν καὶ τὸ Κιθαριζὸν δόντες φρούριον· καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀρδιναρίων ἀρχῶν κατέστη σχήματι κονσουλαρία παρ' ἡμῶν γενομένη. ὥςτε τεσσάρων Ἀρμενιῶν οὐσῶν δύο μὲν εἶναι σπεκταβιλίας, τήν τε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου τήν τε τοῦ κόμητος, καὶ ἀνθύπατον μὲν εἶναι τὸν τῆς πρώτης ἡγούμενον Ἀρμενίας. κόμητα δὲ τὸν τῆς τρίτης, τὸν δὲ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ τετάρτης ὀρδιναρίους καθεστάναι. Καὶ ἐπειδήπερ τοῦτο ἡμῖν διεσπούδασται, ὥςτε τὰς ἄχρι τῶν πεντακοσίων νομισ-*

μάτων ἐκκλήτους οὐχὶ πρὸς ταύτην φέρεσθαι τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς σύνεγγυς σπεκταβιλίους ἄρχοντας, καὶ τοῦτο διατυποῦμεν, ὥςτε τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῆς πρώτης 'Αρμενίας, τουτέστι τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, τὰς ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας 'Αρμενίας ἐκκλήτους φέρεσθαι, τουτέστι τὰς κατὰ Σεβάστειαν, τῷ δὲ τῆς τρίτης 'Αρμενίας κόμητι, τῷ κατὰ Μελιτηνήν φαμεν, τὰς ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης 'Αρμενίας ἐκκλήτους μέχρι τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἀνήκειν ποσοῦ.

CAPUT II.

Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως ἡμῖν διατεταγμένων κἀκεῖνο προςδιορίσαι δίκαιον ἔτι νομίζομεν, ἐφ' ᾧ προστῆσαι τῆς τρίτης 'Αρμενίας ἄνδρα σεμνον, ὑπουργηκότα τε ἡμῖν ἤδη καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκου καὶ προσχήματος. Εὑρόντες τοίνυν Θωμᾶν τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἤδη μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αρμενίων ἀνύσαντα χώρας, καὶ τἄλλα δὲ ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ γνησίως ἡμῖν ὑπηρετησάμενόν τε καὶ ὑπηρετούμενον, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προβαλλόμεθα διοικήσει, ὥστε τέως μὲν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ταύτης ἡγεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἡμῖν σχῆμα, προνοεῖν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα ἂν αὐτῷ [ἢ] διὰ θείων ἐπιτρέψαιμεν commonitori*ων εἴτε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἣν αὐτῷ παραδεδώκαμεν εἴτε καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλαις· ὅπερ καὶ πεπράχαμεν θεῖα πρὸς αὐτὸν πεποιημένοι* commonitoria *περὶ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων πράξεων, ἅπερ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας χώρας προςῆκόν 1 ἐστιν εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν. Τὰ μέντοι περὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας, καθὰ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, μένειν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον βουλόμεθα σχῆμα, οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν δίκαιον οὔτε περὶ τὰς χειροτονίας τοῦ πράγματος ἀμειβομένου ἢ καινιζομένου, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρότερον χειροτονούντων καὶ νῦν ἐχόντων τὴν τῆς χειροτονίας ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τῶν προτέρων μητροπολιτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν μενόντων τάξεως, ὥςτε μηδὲν τό γε ἐπ' αὐταῖς καινισθῆναι.*

CAPUT III.

'Εκεῖνο μέντοι τῶν ἀνωμολογημένων ἐστίν, ὡς ἐπειδήπερ τὸν τῆς τρίτης 'Αρμενίας κόμητα οὐ πολιτικὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν πεποιήκαμεν ἄρχοντα, ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῷ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὴν ἱδρυμένους ὑποκεῖσθαι, ἄδειαν ἔχοντι, καθὰ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐφεῖται, καὶ πρὸς ὄνομα καλεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ προνοεῖν τῶν σιτήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς κατ' αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἀδικοῖεν, καὶ μή τι συγχωρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, εἰ δέ τι πράξαιεν σφοδρότερον, καὶ ἐγκληματικῶν ἀκροᾶσθαι δικῶν, κἂν εἰ στρατιῶται καθεστήκοιεν, καὶ

ἅπαντα πράττειν ὁπόσα τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς δεδώκαμεν ἄρχουσιν. καὶ ὥσπερ τῷ τε Ἰσαυρίας κόμητι τῷ τῆς Πακατιανῆς Φρυγίας καὶ πρός γε τοῖς πραίτωρσι Λυκαονίας τε καὶ Πισιδίας καὶ Θρᾴκης καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὑπεκλίναμεν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτῷ μὴ μόνην εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶναι σεμνὸν αὐτὸν στρατιώταις τε καὶ ἰδιώταις κελεύοντα καὶ πάντα πράττοντα, ὡς μιᾶς δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστώσης· καὶ μίαν τίθεσθαι πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἔγκλημα κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἁμαρτάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωφρονισμοῖς ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς προσήκουσι. ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἀφαιρούμεθα παντελῶς αὐτὸν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ προσώπῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ὄντων, εἴτε ἰδιωτικῷ εἴτε στρατιωτικῷ εἴτε ταμειακῷ· μίαν γὰρ καὶ συνεχῆ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις φυλάττεσθαι βουλόμεθα, οὐ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν προσώπων τὴν κατὰ τῶν νόμων εἰσάγοντες καταφρόνησιν.

<Ἐπίλογος>. Τὰ τοίνυν παραστάντα ἡμῖν ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ κατὰ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων Ἀρμενιῶν διατύπωσιν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν τῆς τρίτης, ἧς κατὰ πρόφασιν τὸν παρόντα θεῖον ἐποιήσαμεν νόμον, νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον φυλάττεσθαι σπευσάτω, πάντων πραττομένων καὶ ἐγγραφομένων ταῖς μερικαῖς διατυπώσεσι τῶν ὁμοθρόνων τῶν σῶν, ὁπόσα δίδοσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος προσετάξαμεν. Dat. xv. k. April. CP. post consul. Belisarii v.c. [*a.* 536] (8)

H. Edictum III [9]

De Armeniorum successione

Γ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗΣ.

<Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλευς ...>.

<Προοίμιον>. Καὶ Ἀρμενίους βουλόμεθα τῆς προτέρας ἀπαλλάξαντες ἀδικίας ἐπὶ τοὶς ἡμετέρους διὰ πάντων ἀγαγεῖν νόμους καὶ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἰσότητα τὴν πρέπουσαν.

CAPUT I.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν ἔναγχος βαρβαρικόν τινα καὶ θρασὺν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμον οὐ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρέποντα πολιτείας, ὅπως ἂν ἄῤῥενες μὲν κληρονομοῖεν τῶν γονέων,

8 *Cf.* Chapter II, n. 2, for Adontz's objection to this version of the text which is, however, adopted by Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 7-9.

9 *CJC*, 6th ed., III, pp. 760-761.

θήλειαι δὲ μηκέτι, διὰ τοῦτο θεσπίζομεν τῷ παρόντι θείῳ χρώμενοι νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὁμοίας εἶναι τὰς διαδοχὰς καὶ ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων διατέτακται νόμοις ἐπί τε ἀνδρῶν ἐπί τε γυναικῶν, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ κρατεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐκεῖσε κατεπέμψαμεν νόμους, ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφο- 1 ρῶντες οὕτω πολιτεύοιντο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἤδη προειληφότα ἅπαντα ἀνακινεῖν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἐστί, διὰ τοῦτο θεσπίζομεν τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλείας, ὥστε τὰς τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τελευτησάντων μέχρι νῦν διαδοχὰς κατὰ τοῦτον πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον διαλυσάμενοι ἢ ἄλλως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπαλλαγέντες. εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον γέγονε, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας μένειν 2 ἰσχύος καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀνακινεῖσθαι θεσπίζομεν. Μετέχειν δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων γενεαρχικῶν χωρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου χρόνου βουλόμεθα. εἰ μέντοι συμβαίη τινὰς εὑρεθῆναι, οἵπερ καίτοι μὴ καλουμένας τὰς θυγατέρας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου διαδοχὴν ἔγραψαν ὅμως κληρονόμους, μετεῖναι καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένοις τῆς τῶν γενεαρχικῶν πραγμάτων διαδοχῆς.

<Ἐπίλογος>. Τὰ τοίνυν παραστάντα ἡμῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ θείου δηλούμενα νόμου ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ καὶ παραφυλάξαι καὶ πέρατι παραδοῦναι σπευσάτω, ὥστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους διὰ παντων κρατεῖν και εἶναι κυρίους ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ παρόντος νόμου, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, ἐκ τῶν προοιμίων τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, τῷ παντὶ δὲ συμπαραταθησομένου χρόνῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπασι πολιτευσομένου τρόποις καὶ παρὰ πάντων φυλαχθησομένου.

Dat. X. kal. Aug. Belisario v. c. cons. [*a.* 535].

II. GREEK AND LATIN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

A. Notitia dignitatum [1]

i. Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium, in partibus Orientis

2. Praefectus praetorio Orientis ...
5. Magistri equitum et peditum in praesenti duo.
6. Equitum ac peditum per Orientem ...
28. Comes Orientis ...
30. Uicarii quatuor : ...
32. Ponticae ...
38. Duces *tredecim* : ...
42. Per Orientem sex : ...
44. Eufratensis et Syriae ...
46. Osrhoenae.
47. Mesopotamiae ...
49. Per Ponticam unus :
50. Armeniae ...
79. Praesides XL : ...
86. Per Orientem VIII : ...
90. Eufratensis ...
92. Osrhoenae.
93. Mesopotamiae ...
103. Per Ponticam VIII :
104. Honoriados.
105. Cappadociae primae.
106. Cappadociae secundae.
107. Helenoponti.
108. Ponti Polemoniaci.
109. Armeniae primae.
110. Armeniae secundae.
111. Galatiae salutaris ...

[1] *Not. dig.*, pp. 1 sqq.

ii. [*Praefectus praetorio per Orientem*]

1. Sub dispositione uir*i* illustri*s* praefect*i* praetorio per Orientem sunt dioceses infrascriptae :
2. Oriens ...
5. Pontica ...
7. Prouinciae :
8. Orientis quindecim :
9. Palaestina.
10. Foenice.
11. Syria.
12. Cilicia.
13. Cyprus.
14. Arabia [et dux et comes rei militaris]
15. Isauria.
16. Palaestina salutaris.
17. Palaestina secunda.
18. Foenic*e* Libani.
19. Eufratensis.
20. Syria salutaris.
21. Osrhoena.
22. Mesopotamia.
23. Cilicia secunda ...
41. Ponticae decem :
42. Galatia.
43. Bithynia.
44. Honorias.
45. Cappadocia prima.
46. Cappadocia secunda.
47. Pontus Polemoniacus.
48. Helenopontus.
49. Armenia prima.
50. Armenia secunda.
51. *G*alatia salutaris ...

vi. Magister militum praesentalis II

26. Sub dispositione uiri illustris magistri militum praesentalis :

27. Uexillationes palatinae sex : ...
31. Comites sagittarii Armeni ...

vii. Magister militum per Orientem

23. Sub dispositione uiri illustris magistri militum per Orientem : ...
48. Item [Legiones] pseudocomitatenses XI :
49. Prima Armeniaca.
50. Secunda Armeniaca ...
58. Transtigritani ...

xxii. Comes Orientis

17. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis comitis Orientis prouinciae infrascriptae :
18. Palaestina.
19. Foenice.
20. Syria.
21. Cyprus.
22. Cilicia.
23. Palaestina secunda.
24. Palaestina salutaris.
25. Foenice Libani.
26. Eufratensis.
27. Syria salutaris.
28. Osrhoena.
29. Mesopotamia.
30. Cilicia secunda.
31. Isauria.
32. Arabia ...

xxv. Uicarius dioceseos Ponticae.

14. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis uicarii dioceseos Ponticae prouinciae infrascriptae :
15. Bithynia.
16. Galatia.
17. Paflagonia.
18. Honorias.

19. Galatia salutaris.
20. Cappadocia prima.
21. Cappadocia secunda.
22. Helenopontus.
23. Pontus Polemoniacus.
24. Armenia prima.
25. Armenia secunda ...

xxviii. Comes limitis Aegypti

13. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis comitis rei militaris per Aegyptum : ...
22. Ala secunda Armeniorum, Oasi minore.

xxxviii. Dux Armeniae

FL INTALL. COMORD PR.		Auaxa *Castellum*
Sabbu	Domana	Siluanis
Castellum	*Castellum*	*Castellum*
Apollinaris	Melitena	Trapezunta
Castellum	*Castellum*	*Castellum*
		Colore caeruleo mare indicatur

10. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis ducis Armeniae :
11. Equites sagittarii, Sabbu.
12. Equites sagittarii, Domana.

13. Praefectus legionis quintadecimae Apollinaris, Satala.
14. Praefectu*s* legionis duodecimae fulmin*at*ae, Melitena.
15. In Ponto :
16. Praefectu*s* legionis primae Ponticae, Trapezunta.

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17. Ala Rizena, Aladaleariza.
18. Ala Theodosiana, apud Auaxam.
19. Ala felix Theodosiana, Siluanis.
20. Et quae de minore laterculo emituntur :
21. Ala prima Augusta Colonorum, Chiaca.
22. Ala Auriana, Dascusa.
23. Ala prima Ulpia Dacorum, Suissa.
24. Ala secunda Gallorum, Aeliana.
25. Ala castello Tablariensi constituta.
26. Ala prima praetori*a* nuper constituta.
27. Cohors tertia Ulpia miliaria Petraeorum, Metita.
28. Cohors quarta Raetorum, Analiba.
29. Cohors mil*ia*ria Bosporiana, Arauraca.
30. Cohors miliaria Germanorum, Sisila.

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31. Ala prima Iouia felix, Chaszanenica.
32. Ala prima felix Theodosiana, Pithiae.
33. Cohors prima Theodosiana, Ualentia.
34. Cohors Apule*i*a ciuium Romanorum, Ysiporto.
35. Cohors prima Lepidiana, Caene-Parembole.
36. Cohors prima Claudia equitata, Sebastopolis.
37. Cohors secunda Ualentiniana, Ziganne
38. Cohors, Mochora.
39. Officium autem habet ita :
40. Principem de scola agentum in rebus.
41. Numerarios et adiutores eorum.
42. Commentariensem.
43. Adiutorem.
44. A libellis siue subscribendarium.
45. Exceptores et ceteros officiales.
46. Dux Armeniae VII [2].

[2] *Cf.* Mommsen, *Verzeichniss*, Bury, " The Notitia dignitatum ", *JRS*, X (1922), and Jones, *LRE*, II, pp. 1417 sqq.

B. Laterculus ueronensis[3]

Nomina prouinciarum omnium

2. Diocensis Orientis habet prouincias numero XVIII :
3. Libia superior.
4. Libia inferior.
5. Thebais.
6. Aegyptus Iouia.
7. Aegyptus Herculea.
8. Arabia.
9. item Arabia Augusta Libanensis.
10. Palestina.
11. Fenice.
12. Syria Coele.
13. Augusta Eup*h*ratensis.
14. Cilicia.
15. Isauria.
16. *Cy*prus.
17. Mesopotamia.
18. Osroena.

II. Diocensis Pontica habet prouincias numero VII :

2. Bitinia.
3. Cappadocia.
4. Galatia.
5. Pap*h*lagonia, nunc in duas diuisa.
6. Diospontus.
7. Pontus Polemoniacus.
8. Armenia minor, nunc et maior addita ... .

XIII. Gentes barbarae, quae pullulauerunt sub imperatoribus : ...

38. Armeni ... [4].

[3] *Not. dig.*, pp. 249 sqq.

[4] *Cf.* Mommsen, *Verzeichniss*, and *above* Chapter IV, n. 31, Bury, *Verona List*, Jones, *Verona List*.

C. Laterculus Polemii Silvii [5]

Nomina Prouinciarum

... VIII. In Oriente X :

2. *Prima* : Siria Coele, in qua est Antiochia.
3. *Secunda* : (Siria) Palestina.
4. *Tertia* : Siria Phoenice.
5. *Quarta* : Isauria.
6. *Quinta* : Cilicia, iuxta montem Taurum.
7. *Sexta* : Cyprus.
8. *Septima* : Mesopotamia, inter Tigrem et Euphratem.
9. *Decima* : Eufratesia.
10. *Octaua* : Hosdroene.
11. *Nona* : Sophanene.

IX. In Ponto VIII :

2. *Prima* : Pontus Polemoniacus.
3. *Secunda* : Pontus Amasia.
4. *Tertia* : Honoriada.
5. *Quarta* : Bithinia.
6. *Quinta* : Paflagonia.
7. *Septima* : Armenia minor.
8. *Sexta* : Armenia maior.
9. *Octaua* : Cappadocia ... [6].

D. Hierokles' Synekdemos [7]

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΕΚΔΗΜΟΣ

631 *3* *Κωνσταντινούπολις. Εἰσὶν αἱ πᾶσαι ἐπαρχίαι καὶ πόλεις αἱ ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων διοικούμεναι τὸν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει,*
ἐπαρχίαι ξ̅δ̅, πόλεις λ̅ε̅, ὡς ὑποτέτακται. ... .

[5] *Not. dig.*, pp. 258-259.
[6] *Cf.* Mommsen, *Laterculus.*
[7] *Hierokles*, pp. 12, 33 sqq.

690	3a	ΠΟΝΤΙΚΗ [Δια τῆς Ποντικῆς διοικήσεως] ...	
698	5	ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ Α λς.	Ἐπαρχία Καππαδοκίας α, ὑπὸ κονσουλάριον, πόλεις δ.
	6	Καισάρεια	Καισάρεια
699	1	Νύσσα	Νύσσα
	2	Θερμά	τὰ Θέρμα
	3	ῥεγεων Πόδανδος	Ῥεγεπόδανδος
700	1	ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ Β λζ.	Ἐπαρχία Καππαδοκίας β, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις η.
	2	Τύανα	Τύανα
	3	Φαυστινόπολις	Φαυστινούπολις
	4	Κύβιστρα	Κυβίστρα
	5	Ναζιανζός	Νανζιανζός
	6	Σάσιμα	Σάσιμα
	7	Παρνασσός	Παρνασός
	8	ῥεγεὼν Δόαρα	Ῥεγεδοάρα
701	1	ῥεγεὼν Μουκισσός	Ῥεγεκουκουσός
	2	ΕΛΕΝΟΠΟΝΤΟΣ λη,	Ἐπαρχία Ἑλενοπόντου, ὑπὸ κονσουλάριον, πόλεις ζ.
	3	Ἀμάσεια	Ἀμασία
	4	Ἴβωρα	Ἰβόρα
	5	Ζῆλα	Ζῆλα
	6	Σάλτον Ζαλίχιον	Σάλτου Ζαλίχον
	7	Ἄνδραπα	Ἄνδραπα
702	1	Ἀμισός	Ἀμισός
	2	Σινώπη	Σινώπη
	3	ΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΙΑΚΟΣ λθ,	Ἐπαρχία Πόντου Πολεμονιακοῦ, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις ε.
	4	Νεοκαισάρεια	Νεοκαισάρεια
	5	Κόμανα	Κομάνα
	6	Πολεμώνιον	τὸ Λεμόνιον
	7	Κερασοῦς	Κερασοῦς
	8	Τραπεζοῦς	Τραπεζοῦς
702	9	ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑ Α μ.	Ἐπαρχία Ἀρμενίας α, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις ε.
703	1	Σεβάστεια	Σεβάστια
	2	Νικόπολις	Νικόπολις
	3	Κολώνεια	Κολόνια
	4	Σάταλα	Σατάλα
	5	Σεβαστούπολις	Σεβαστούπολις

	6	*ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑ Β̄ μα̅. Ἐπαρχία Ἀρμενίας β̄, ὑπο ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις ς̄.*	
	7	*Μελιτηνή*	*Μελιτινή*
	8	*Ἄρκα*	*Ἄρκα*
	9	*Ἀραβισσός*	*Ἀράβισος*
	10	*Κουκουσός*	*Κοκουσός*
	11	*Κόμανα*	*Κομάνα*
	12	*Ἀριαράθεια*	*Ἀραραθία*
704	1a	*ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ [Διὰ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως·] ...*	
712	10	*ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΣΙΑ μη̅. Ἐπαρχία Εὐφρατησίας, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις ιβ.*	
	11	*Ἱεράπολις*	*Ἱεράπολις*
713	1	*Κύρρος*	*Κύρος*
	2	*Σαμόσατα*	*Σαμόσατα*
	3	*Δολίχη*	*Δολήχη*
	4	*Ζεῦγμα*	*Ζεῦγμα*
	5	*Γερμανίκεια*	*Γερμανικία*
	6	*Πέρρη*	*Πέρρη*
	7	*Νικόπολις*	*Νικόπολις*
	8	*Σκηναρχία*	*Σκεναρχαῖα*
	9	*Σάλτον Ἐραγιζηνόν*	*Σαλγενορατίζενον*
	10	*Οὔριμα*	*Σύριμα*
	11	*Εὔρωπος*	*Εὔρωπος*
	12	*ΟΣΡΟΗΝΗ μθ̅. Ἐπαρχία Ῥοσρωυνῆς, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις θ̄.*	
714	1	*Ἔδεσσα*	*Ἔδεσσα*
	2	*Κωνσταντίνα*	*Κωνσταντίνα*
	3	*Θεοδοσιούπολις*	*Θεοδοσιούπολις*
	4	*Κάρραι*	*Κάρραι*
	5	*Βάτναι*	*Βάτναι*
	6	*Νέα Οὐαλεντία*	*Νέα Οὐαλεντιάς*
715	1	*Λεοντόπολις ἡ καὶ Καλλίνικος*	*Λεοντόπολις ἡ καὶ Καλλινίκη*
	2	*Βίρθα*	*Βίρθα*
	3	*ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑ ν̄. Ἐπαρχία Μεσοποταμείας, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλις ᾱ.*	
	4	*Ἄμιδα*	*Ἄμιδα ...*[8]

[8] On the date of the Synekdemos and its relation to other sources, *see Hierokles*, pp. 1 sqq., and *above* Chapter IV, n. 42b, also Jones, *CREP*, p. 503.

E. Basilii notitia [9]

ΤΑΞΙΣ ΠΡΟΚΑΘΕΔΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΩΝ

ὁ Ῥώμης
ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας
ὁ Ἀντιοχείας
ὁ Αἰλίας Ἱεροσολύμων

Τάξις προκαθεδρίας μητροπολιτῶν καὶ αὐτοκεφάλων καὶ ἐπισκόπων τελούντων ὑπὸ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον ταύτης τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ βασιλίδος πόλεως.

α̅.	Ἐπαρχία	Καππαδοκίας α̅	ὁ Καισαρείας. ...
ια̅.	ἐπαρχία	Ἀρμενίας β̅	ὁ Σεβαστείας.
ιβ̅.	ἐπαρχία	Ἑλενοπόντου	ὁ Ἀμασείας.
ιγ̅.	ἐπαρχία	Ἀρμενίας α̅	ὁ Μελιτινῆς.
ιδ̅.	ἐπαρχία	Καππαδοκίας β̅	ὁ Τυάνων ἤτοι Χριστουπόλεως. ...
ις̅.	ἐπαρχία	Ὀνωριάδος	ὁ Κλαυδιουπόλεως.
ιζ̅.	ἐπαρχία	Πόντου Πολεμωνιακοῦ	ὁ Νεοκαισαρείας. ...
κς̅.	ἐπαρχία	Καππαδοκίας β̅	ὁ Μωκησσοῦ.
ηζ̅.	ἐπαρχία	Λαζικῆς	ὁ τοῦ Φάσιδος. ...

Μέχρι τούτων οἱ μητροπολῖται καὶ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχονται οἱ αὐτοκέφαλοι. ...

ἐπαρχία	Ἑλενοπόντου	ὁ Εὐχαΐτων. ...
ἐπαρχία	Ἀρμενίας β̅	ὁ Ἡρακλουπόλεως ἤτοι Φιλαχθόης.
ἐπαρχία	Ἀβασγίας	ὁ Σεβαστουπόλεως.
ἐπαρχία	Πόντου Πολεμωνιακοῦ	ὁ Τραπεζούντων. ...

(Τάξις καὶ διαίρεσις τῶν μητροπολιτῶν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόποις).

Α̅. Ἐπαρχία Καππαδοκίας
ὁ Καισαρείας
α̅. ὁ τῶν Βασιλικῶν Θερμῶν

9 *Georg. Cypr.*, pp. 1 sqq.

β̅. ὁ Νύσης
γ̅. ὁ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως Ἀρμενίας
δ̅. ὁ Καμουλιανῶν
ε̅. ὁ Κισκισοῦ. ...

Ι̅. Ἐπαρχία Ἀρμενίας Β̅

ὁ Σεβαστείας
α̅. ὁ Σεβαστουπόλεως
β̅. ὁ Νικοπόλεως
γ̅. ὁ Σατάλων
δ̅. ὁ Κολωνείας
ε̅. ὁ Βηρισσῆς.

Ι̅Α̅. Ἐπαρχία Ἑλενοπόντου

ὁ Ἀμασείας
α̅. ὁ Ἀμισσοῦ
β̅. ὁ Σινώπης
γ̅. ὁ Ἰβόρων
δ̅. ὁ Ἀνδράπων
ε̅. ὁ Ζαλίχου ἤτοι Λεοντουπόλεως
ς̅. ὁ Ζήλων.

Ι̅Β̅. Ἐπαρχία Ἀρμενίας

ὁ Μελιτινῆς
α̅. ὁ Ἄρκης
β̅. ὁ Κουκουσοῦ
γ̅. ὁ Ἀραβισσοῦ
δ̅. ὁ Ἀριαράθης
ε̅. ὁ Κεομανῶν

Ι̅Γ̅. Ἐπαρχία Καππαδοκίας

ὁ Τυάνων ἤτοι Χριστουπόλεως
α̅. ὁ Κυβιστρῶν
β̅. ὁ Φαυστινουπόλεως
γ̅. ὁ Σασίμων. ...

Ι̅Ε̅. Ἐπαρχία Ὁνωριάδος

ὁ Κλαυδιουπόλεως
α̅. ὁ Ἡρακλείας Πόντου
β̅. ὁ Προυσιάδος

$\bar{\gamma}$. ὁ Τίου
$\bar{\delta}$. ὁ Κρατείας
$\bar{\epsilon}$. ὁ Ἀδριανουπόλεως

$\overline{I\varsigma}$. Ἐπαρχία Πολεμωνιανή

ὁ Νεοκαισαρείας
$\bar{\alpha}$. ὁ Τραπεζούντων
$\bar{\beta}$. ὁ Κερασούντων
$\bar{\gamma}$. ὁ τοῦ Πολεμωνίου
$\bar{\delta}$. ὁ Κομάνων. ...

$\overline{KE}$. Ἐπαρχία Καππαδοκίας

ὁ Μωκησσοῦ
$\bar{\alpha}$. ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ
$\bar{\beta}$. ὁ Κολωνείας
$\bar{\gamma}$. ὁ Παρνασσοῦ
$\bar{\delta}$. ὁ Δοάρων.

$\overline{K\varsigma}$. Ἐπαρχία Λαζικῆς

ὁ Φάσιδος
$\bar{\alpha}$. ὁ Ῥοδοπόλεως
$\bar{\beta}$. ὁ τῆς Ἀβισσηνῶν
$\bar{\gamma}$. ὁ Πετρῶν
$\bar{\delta}$. ὁ Ζιγανέων. ...[10]

F. Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis Romani [11]

... ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΕΩΣ ...

Ἐπαρχία Ὀσροηνῆς

Ἔδεσσα μητρόπολις

Κάραι
Κωνστάντεια
Θεοδοσιούπολις
Καλλίνικος ἤτοι Λεοντόπολις
Νέα Οὐαλεντία

[10] On Basil *see* Honigmann, *Basileios*, Laurent, *Basile*, and *Hierokles*, pp. 49 sqq.
[11] *Georg. Cypr.*, pp. 41, 45 sqq.

Βίρθων
Μονιθίλλα
Θηριμάχων
Μονιαύγα
Μάκαρτα
Μαρκούπολις
Ἀναστασία
Ἡμέριος
Κιρκησία

Μέχρι τῶν ὧδέ ἐστι τὸ πλήρωμα Μεσοποταμίας καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς γῆς Περσίδος.

Ἐπαρχία Μεσοποταμίας ἄνω ἤτοι Δ̄ Ἀρμενίας

Ἄμιδα μητρόπολις

Μαρτυρόπολις

ἀπο ιε̄ μιλίων τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως γεννᾶται ὁ Τίγρις ποταμός.

Δαρᾶς

ἀπο ς̄ μιλίων τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεώς εἰσι τὰ μεθόρια καὶ οἱ ὅροι Περσίδος καὶ Συρίας.

κάστρον Ῥισκηφᾶς
κάστρον Τουράνδιος
κάστρον Μάρδης
κάστρον Λόρνης
κάστρον Ῥιφθον
κάστρον Ἴσφριος
κάστρον Τζαύρας
κάστρον Αὐδάσσος
κάστρον᾿ Αβάρμης
κάστρον Τζινοβίας
κάστρον Ἰνζιετῶν
κάστρον Βαναβήλων
κάστρον Χούδδων
κάστρον Ἀϊσουδοῦος
κάστρον Μασφρόνας
κάστρον Βασιλικόν
κάστρον Σκῆλον καὶ Ὀδήλων
κάστρον Βηϊουβαΐθας
κάστρον Μανασσάρων

κάστρον Φιρθαχαβράης
κάστρον Σιτέων Χίφας
κάστρον Κάλωνος
κάστρον Βιβασάρων
κάστρον Τζαύρας
κάστρον Βίρθας
κάστρον Ἀτταχᾶς

Κλίματος Ἀρζανηνῆς

κάστρον Ἀφουμῶν
κάστρον Ἀριβάχων
κάστρον Φλωριανῶν
κάστρον Δαφνοῦδιν
κάστρον Βαλοῦος
κάστρον Σαμοχάρτων

Ὧδε πληροῦται ἡ Μεσοποταμία, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ Ταῦρος καὶ ἡ κλεισοῦρα Βαλαλείσων, και ἄρχεται κατὰ τὸ ἀρκτῷον μέρος ἡ Μεγάλη Ἀρμενία. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκοῦντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ταύρου πλησίον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλίματος λαοί β´ ὀνομαζόμενοι ὁ μὲν εἷς Χοθαρται, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Σανασουνίται. καὶ ἔστιν ὄρος ὑψηλον, ἐπονομαζόμενον Μαρασκέν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ Νῶε ἐπιφερομένη τοῖς ὕδασι προσέκρουσεν εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἔστιν τοῦτο γνωστὸν πᾶσι τοῖς τῶν ἐκεῖσε μερῶν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

Ἐπαρχία $\overline{Δ}$ Ἀρμενίας ἄλλης

Δαδίμων νῦν μητρόπολις
Ἀρσαμουσάτων
πολίχνη Χοζάνων
Χοσομάχων
Κιθαρίζων
κάστρον Μερτικέρτον
κάστρον Βαϊουλοῦος
<*κάστρον Παλιός>
κάστρον Ἀρδών
κλίμα Σοφήνης

χωρίον ὑπο τὸ αὐτὸ κλίμα, λεγόμενον Ἰαλιμβάνων, ὅθεν ὁρμᾶται ὁ τὴν παροῦσαν φιλοπονήσας βίβλον Βασίλειος.

κλίμα Ἀνζητινῆς
κλίμα Διγησινῆς
κλίμα Γαρινῆς
κλίμα Βιλαβητινῆς
κλίμα Παλινῆς
κλίμα Ὀρζιανινῆς
κλίμα Ἀστιανικῆς
κλίμα Μουζουρῶν ...

Ἐπαρχία Ἀρμενίας Μεγάλης

Δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὕτη αὐτοκέφαλός ἐστι μὴ τελοῦσα ὑπὸ τὸν ἀνατολικὸν θρόνον. ἀλλὰ τιμηθεῖσα διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον Ἀρμενίας, ἔχουσα πόλεις καὶ κάστρα καὶ κλίματα σ. ...[12].

G. Nova tactica [13]

ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΚΟΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΝΕΑ

<Τάξις τῶν μητροπολεων τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ τῆς Βασιλίδος θρόνῳ.>

α. Ἡ Καισάρεια ...
ια. ἡ Σεβάστεια
ιβ. ἡ Ἀμάσεια
ιγ. ἡ Μελιτινή ...
ιη. ἡ Νεοκαισάρεια ...
κθ. ἡ Μωκησος ...
μς. ἡ Κάμαχος ...

Εἰσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἑκάστῃ μητροπόλει ὑπόκεινται θρόνοι.

<Α> Τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Καππαδοκίας.

α. ὁ Νύσης
β. ὁ τῶν Βασιλικῶν Θερμῶν
γ. ὁ Καμουλιανῶν
δ. ὁ Κισκισοῦ

[12] On the date of George of Cyprus and his relation to other sources, *see Hierokles*, pp. 1 sqq., and 49 sqq.
[13] *Georg. Cypr.*, pp. 57 sqq.

ε̅. ὁ Εὐαΐσων
ϛ̅. ὁ Σευηριάδος
ζ̅. ὁ Ἁραθείας
η̅. ὁ τῶν Αἰπολίων ...

Ι̅Α̅. Τῇ Σεβαστείᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας

α̅. ὁ Σεβαστουπόλεως
β̅. ὁ Νικοπόλεως
γ̅. ὁ Σατάλων
δ̅. ὁ Βερίσσης.

Ι̅Β̅. Τῃ Ἀμασείᾳ Ἑλενοπόντου

α̅. ὁ Ἀμισοῦ
β̅. ὁ Σινώπης
γ̅. ὁ Ἰβόρων
δ̅. ὁ Ἀνδράπων
ε̅. ὁ Ζαλίου ἤτοι Πομπηϊουπόλεως.

Ι̅Γ̅. Τῇ Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας

α̅. ὁ Ἄρκης
β̅. ὁ Κουκουσοῦ
γ̅. ὁ Ἀραβισοῦ
[δ̅.] καὶ Λυπῶν ...

Ι̅Η̅. Τῇ <Νεο>καισαρείᾳ Πόντου Πολεμωναϊκοῦ

α̅. ὁ Κερασούντων
β̅. ὁ τοῦ Πολεμωνίου
γ̅. ὁ Κομάντων

Λ̅Γ̅. Τῇ Τραπεζοῦντι τῆς Λ<αζικῆς>.

<α̅.> ὁ Χεριάνων
<β̅.> ὁ Χαματόζουρ
<γ̅.> ὁ Χάλ
<δ̅.> ὁ Παίπερ
<ε̅.> ὁ Κεραμέων
<ϛ̅.> ὁ Λερίου
<ζ̅.> ὁ Βιζάνων ...

$\overline{M\varsigma}$. Τῇ Καμάχῳ Ἀρμενίας

$\overline{α}$. ὁ Κελιτζινῆς
$\overline{β}$. ὁ Ἀρασράκων
$\overline{γ}$. ὁ Βαρζανίσσης
$\overline{δ}$. ὁ Μελοῦ
$\overline{ε}$. ὁ Μελοῦ ἕτερος ...

$\overline{NA}$. Τοῖς Εὐχαΐταις Ἑλενοπόντου

θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστι

$\overline{NB}$. Τῇ Ἀμάστριδι τοῦ Πόντου
$\overline{\Gamma N}$. Τῶν Ἁσμωσάτων
$\overline{N\Delta}$. Αἱ Χῶναι.

H. Epistulae ad Leonem imperatorem

xxxvi - Armenia Prima [14]

Piissimo et Christianissimo imperatori uictori semper augusto Leoni Iohannis Gregorius Auxentius Eustathius Epiphanius episcopi primae Armeniae in domino salutem. Deus uerus dominus noster Iesus Christus semper optima naturae humanae dona concedens nullum tempus sine sua prouidentia dereliquit. qua gratia etiam nunc fidei uerae prospiciens, quae nostrae salutis spes est, in te pio et Christiano principe quodam secundo Dauid cornu imperii reclinauit. quem sibi nouit religiose a cunabulis seruiturum, hunc sua sententia in omni orbe terrarum imperare sanciuit, quatenus ex uestro imperio profluerent bona subiectis et ubique pietatis praedicatio praeualeret uestra utique mansuetudine nihil aliud praeter fidem sceptra regalia iudicante. quarum rerum testis est praesens zelus et studium illa firmandi, unde firmitas uestri accedat imperii. a deo namque unctus et regem mox ei qui unxit, ipsa principia commendasti optime satis cogitationibus simul et uocibus ei deseruiens et ut haec bene consisterent, prae ceteris omnibus apud cunctos pro fide orthodoxa decertatus es, omni scilicet mala secta prorsus expulsa atque sublata, ad

[14] *ACO*, II, v, pp., 69-71.

idem conuenientibus et ad inuicem concordantibus qui nuper quod fieri non oportuerat, uidebantur esse diuisi. quia prospicit uestra pietatis intentio, ad unam reduxistis ecclesiam non solum eos qui per dissensionem noua passione languebant, sed etiam eos quorum erat a priscis temporibus mens corrupta et a recta et regia uia recedentes ad loca praua et spinosa blasphemi erroris abierant, ut secundum euangelicam uocem omnis ecclesiae unum ouile consisteret et unus pastor dominus Christus esset. sed haec quidem omnia proueniant in uestro semper imperio; quia uero et meae simul humilitati piis litteris estis iubere dignati ut quid sententiam de his quae Alexandria facta sunt, manifestem, licet [et] exaggeratio rerum ibi gestarum neque sententiae tribuit facultatem caligine rerum tristium mentibus obumbrante, hoc tamen uobis insinuo quia si uera sunt quae in precibus religiosissimorum episcoporum et clericorum Aegyptiacae diocesis continentur et auctor Timotheus inuenitur tantorum et talium scelerum, quae propter nimietatem, ut arbitror, non creduntur, alienus sacerdotio cum his qui similia perpetrarunt, apud sanctos canones iudicabitur. et haec quidem de his quae Alexandria gesta sunt, cum sancto concilio quod mecum est, deliberans religiositati uestrae significaui; fidem uero solam trecentorum XVIII sanctorum patrum qui dei gratia conuenerunt in Nicaena urbe sub piae memoriae principe Constantino, seruamus, qua ab infantia sumus inbuti et in sacerdotio alios inbuere nouimus quamque et post haec CL episcopi congregati in ciuitate regia firmauerunt et propriam iudicarunt et ipsa sibi cooperatrice utentes et doctrina diuinitus inspirata, sancti scilicet spiritus, blasphemias et zizania radicitus amputantes quamque nihilo minus et definitio a sancto Calchedonensi consilio explanata firmauit, praecipue repugnans uesaniae nefandi Nestorii et sanctam synodum quae Ephesi est celebrata, confirmans, cuius praesules fuerunt deo amabile et sanctissimae memoriae Romanorum et Alexandrinorum episcopi Caelestinus et Cyrillus, qui maxime aduersus sceleratam blasphemiam Nestorii suis responsionibus doctrinisque claruerunt, quorum epustulae aduersus eundem impium Nestorium et <ad> Orientales uniuersos datae et ab eodem sanctae memoriae Cyrillo contra eundem Nestorium anathemata proposita sunt firmata atque roborata. Igitur indicamus prolatam definitionem a sancto Calchedonensi concilio non sicut fidei symbolum, sed sicut definitionem esse positam ad peremptionem Nestorianae uesaniae et exclusionem eorum qui salutem incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi

denegare noscuntur, ut agnoscant omnes qui ob hoc scandalum patiuntur, quia neque nos post orthodoxum symbolum CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum aut augmentum aut deminutionem in his quae sic perfecte et a sancto spiritu sunt definita, suscipimus <et> fidem aliam nescimus, quia neque est nec patimur hoc audire, licet quidam esse dicant. si uero quibusdam uolunt calumniari uerbis, etiam hoc uestrae serenitati indicare confidimus quoniam ea quae illis uidentur esse dubia, ad intellegentium sic respicere noscantur affectum. sunt enim quaedam in definitione quae <si> recte intelligantur, orthodoxa sunt; si uero aliquis ea aliter uelit inspicere, inueniet hanc sensus dubios parientem. multi siquidem et scripturas diuinas non intellegentes sicut scriptae sunt, propriae blasphemiae dogmata genuerunt, quos dominus Christus sua clementia et sacra pietatis uestrae prudentia diligentiaque conuertat et rectae praedicare uerbum ueritatis edoceat et hoc sapere quod sancta catholica dictat ecclesia, cuius caput quidem est Christus, uos autem robur ac fundamentum imitantes immobilem Christi petram, super quam omnium creator ecclesiam suam aedificans omnibus Christianis pietatis requiem condonauit. qui etiam uestram serenitatem semper conseruare dignetur in talibus uigilantem et insidiantem bestiam Christi ouilibus a saeptis fidei orthodoxae repellentem. credimus enim quia postquam nostris litteris haec indicauimus, cuncta ueritatis uia omnis modus uestrae panditur pietati quatenus sopiantur scandala et ad fidem rectam membra discordantia reducantur domino Christo super quadam inspiratione uestram tranquilitatem ad bona omnia deducente.

Iohahhis episcopus misericordia dei Sebastiae metropolis sanctae dei ecclesiae manu mea suscribens secundum sanctionem uestrae pietatis praedictam epistula mea sententiam nuntiaui, quam habeo pro fide trecentorum XVIII sanctorum patrum in Nicaea conuenientium, quam et sanctum Calchedonense concilium confirmauit, simul et pro Timotheo, quem preces his aduersarium ostenderunt, et conseruari uestram potestatem temporibus longis exopto

Iohannis episcopus Nicopolitanus similiter
Gregorius episcopus Sebastopolis similiter
Maxentis episcopus Varissae similiter
Eustathius episcopus Coloniae similiter
Epiphanius episcopus Satalenus similiter.

xxxvii - Armenia Secunda [15]

Religiossimo et piissimo et Christianissimo imperatori semper augusto Leoni Otrius Acacius Iohannis Adelfius Hormisda Longinus secundae Armeniae episcopi in domino salutem. Deus qui glorificantes se glorificat, secundum cor suum apicem uestrae tranquilitatis inueniens inexpugnabilem palmam et honorem fidei consistentem placidus praebuit uobis, Christianissimi principum, super omnes homines sine prohibitione aliqua potestatem. Insurgentes enim inopinabiliter subdidit uictoriis atque inconparabilibus triumphis et uestram pietatem excellentissimis honoribus exornauit, immutilata et sine litigio et ab aliis indiuisa praebens sceptra uestri imperii, ut firmas atque claras in uobis diuinas seruantes formas optima uoluntate seruitis. bonum enim circa dominum deum favorem uobis habentibus, mansuetis nutibus ad legalem et mirabilem uitam conuersationemque deducitur quidquid sub sceptra uestri imperii gubernatur; aequam uero sortem salutis uestrae utilitati reliquiorum hominum ponentes inconcussam catholicis totius orbis ecclesiis pacem sine tumultuatione confertis et dei clementiam imitantes neque paruulos humilesque despicitis, quando per commodum condescensionis summitatis culmen ad nos etiam pro fidei causa deponitis sociosque nos, qui pro abiectione nostra nihil in terra sumus, inter uestras accipitis curas, non egentes conlationem nostram et in hoc utique magnitudinem incomparabilis dei clementiae demonstrantes. quapropter quoniam iussi sumus, ultra nos quoque praesumimus et quid sentiamus, uestrae pietati suggerimus. nos igitur, uenerabilis imperator, in ultimo mundi loco degimus multo spatio a regia ciuitate distantes, sed uestrae potentiae in nullo diuisi fauore circa fidem equidem rectam sententiam possidemus, ad sermones uero contentionum linguas habemus segnes. cohabitamus enim circa Armenios barbaros, fideles quidem, sed recte Romano eloquio non utentes, breui quodam ab eis spatio, magis autem intercessione Eufratis fluminis separati, et propter frequentem barbarorum permixionem longos nequiuimus proferre sermones, uitamus autem etiam doctrinas extraneas proferentes, quia eloquentia quidem sancti spiritus rennuunt et propriam doctrinam in euangelicis eruditionibus adferre noscun-

[15] *ACO*, II, v, pp. 71-75.

tur. nos etenim secundam inhabitantes Armeniam una et immobili utimur uoluntate et in una fide consistimus, communiter omnes et seorsum singuli pro uestra maiestate ad deum facientes orationem ab omni haerese et lingua blasphema separati unamque doctrinam super omnia claram a sanctis trecentis XVIII patribus percipientis patrum fidem inuiolabilem conseruamus, quaestiones uero de deo tamquam inutiles et nostra cogitatione superiores effugimus et aliud quidquam aut <sentientes aut> dicentes ualde declinamus a superfluis quaestionibus abstinentes et lectiones impias refutantes ab eorum parauitate inimica ecclesiae sumus extranei et triticum fidei a zizaniis separatum uobis fidelibus imperantibus conseruamus, in traditione patrum doctrinae sufficientiam possidentes et nihil superuacaneum quemquam loqui sinentes. ... eum itaque adoremus Christum, qui et dispensatiue pro nostra salute suscepit carnem passionis et diuinae nobis inpassibilitatis iura donauit. sic enim concilium sanctorum patrum Calchedone celebratum sapiens et trecentorum XVIII patrum inuiolabilem et intemptabilem custodiuit fidem et fortiter ineruditi uiri fatuitatibus resistens catholicis ecclesiis in toto orbe fundatis contulit bona pacis, cum quibus nos quoque in uno corpore congregati per fidem uestrum imperium inmutilatum et ad filiorum filios peruenire ab omnium domino deprecamur. si uero quidam decerpentes congruentias syllabarum conpositionesque uerborum bella et lites mouere temptans aduersus ecclesias, deus restitit eis; nos autem intentionem exponentium fidem et mentem probantes nequaquam a uerborum conpositione recedimus, sed et propugnatores dogmatum et perfectos custodes fidei trecentorum XVIII patrum habemus sanctos patres Calchedone collectos et sicut et ipsos trecentos XVIII patres honoramus. nihil enim adicientes illorum symbolo os obnoxium multis suppliciis damnauerunt. igitur sanctionem pietatis uestrae suscipiens una cum sanctissimis episcopis nostrae prouinciae relegensque preces ab Alexandrinis clericis uestrae maiestati porrectas priores atque posteriores in prioribus quidem inuasionem ouium factam contra pastorem fleui et contra ipsum sacerdotium seditionem noui Dathan et Abiron nimis ingemui. pudor enim cuctus per arrogantiam est expulsus, omnis lex et timor imperialis et iudicium est contemptus et sacerdotales sanctiones uexauerunt nefandissimae uoluntates manus contra sacerdotes armantes, quas debuerunt optime temperare et donum perceperunt dignum suae salutis pignus. habens etenim mentem ratione priuatam, sicut precibus sumus edocti, si tamen

uerae sunt, sceleratus Timotheus principatus amorem utilitati praepo nens ad res nefandas accessit sedibus non sibi conpetentibus inruens adhuc uiuo ecclesiae sacerdote dispensationemque ecclesiae petulanti uoluntate diripiens et principium sacerdotii faciens sanguinis effusionem, sed etiam sanctarum gregium caedis factus occasio inpudenter custodem constituit semet ipsum, qui neque uocari dignus est Christianus, quando cruentis manibus uenerabilia mysteria non dubitat impia praesumptione contingere et post damnationem illam operari quae <neque> eum neque alios agentes sanctorum patrum regulae uidere permittunt. qui [neque] non sustinens ut secundum regulas ordinaretur ecclesiasticas et ab his qui simili castigationi uidebantur esse subiecti, factus episcopus ab omnibus ecclesiis semet ipsum excommunicasse dinoscitur quasi faciens diuinae gratiae donis iniuriam. deinde cum non ualeat curare quae ab eo male praesumpta sunt, si tamen quae de ipso dicta sunt, cum ueritate concordant, patrum conciliis obloquitur et cum ei mala patriae non sufficiant, omnes conturbare temptat ecclesias, quasi potestatem habens gerendi quaecumque uoluerit, et neque uiuis neque mortuis praesulibus parcit ecclesiae, sed quasi contra omnes potestatem impietatis adeptus primum CL patrum synodo derogat, quam spiritu diuino statuit sedes Alexandrina. quod mihi fecisse uidetur, ut effugiat homicidii adulteriique supplicia, illic namque in ipsis principiis contra homicidas excommunicationis decreuerunt poenam. non suscipit autem sanctam et uniuersale Calchedonense concilium nesciens quia etiam ante hoc a trecentorum XVIII sanctorum patrum fide semet ipsum fecit extraneum, quam sanctum utique Calchedonense concilium confirmauit ac roborauit. oportebat enim eum ascendentem tyrannice ad thronum beatae memoriae Cyrilli, illius libris incumbere et doctrinam illius possidere. sed uos, pii, tamquam uniuersos principes optima uirtute superantes fidem defendite tyrannidem sustinentem, patrum sanctionibus conferte uirtutem, sacerdotibus donate a periculis libertatem, prohibete eos qui inregulariter contra ecclesias nituntur insurgere, quatenus sine seditione et lite atque bello uestris temporibus sanctae dei ecclesiae constitutae incessabiliter pro uestra longaeuitate atque salute emittant domino Christo suas orationes, ut longis pacificisque temporibus uniuerso orbo terrarum et omnibus sanctis et catholicis dei ecclesiis condoneris, per omnia inuictissime et Christianissime triumphator semper auguste.

Otreius misericordia dei episcopus Melitene metropolis sanctae et

catholicae ecclesiae propria manu suscribens secundum sanctionem uestrae pietatis meam sententiam per praefatam epistulam protuli quid sentio et in confessione sanctorum patrum Nicaea conuenientium, quam secuta est et Calchedonense sanctam et uniuersale concilium, simul et quod sapio super Timotheum, quem preces accusauerunt, et custodiri uestram potestatem sancti ecclesiis et omni orbi terrarum temporibus longis exoro

Iohannis episcopus Arcae similiter

Adelphius episcopus Arabissi similiter [16].

[16] On the date of these *Letters, see above* Chapter VIII, n. 1.

I. Tables

i. *Helenopontos, Pontos Polemoniakos, Armenia Prima* [17]

Hierokles	*Notitiae I, VIII, IX*	*Notitiae III, X, XIII*
Ἀμασία	*I.* 1 Ἀμασείας	1 Ἀμασείας
Ἴβωρα	4 Ἰβύρνων	4 Ἰβόρων ἤτοι Πιμολίας
Ζῆλα	7 Ζηλῶν om. viii, ix	7 Ζηλῶν
Σάλτον Ζαλίχην	6 Ζαλίχου ἤτοι Λεοντουπόλεως	6 Ζαλίχου ἤτοι Λεοντοπόλεως
Ἄνδραπα	5 Ἀνδραπόδων	5 Ἀνδράπων
Ἄμισος	2 Ἀμισσοῦ	2 Ἀμινσοῦ
Σινώπη	3 Σινώπης	3 Σινώπης
—	*II.* Εὐχαίτων	*II.* Εὐχαίτων
Νεοκαισάρεια	1 Νεοκαισαρέιας	*I.* 1 Νεοκαισαρείας
Κόμανα	5 Κομάνων	4 Κομάνων
Πολεμώνιον	4 Πολεμωνείου	3 Πολεμωνίου
Κερασοῦς	3 Κερασοῦντος	2 Κεραζοῦντος
Τραπεζοῦς	2 Τραπεζοῦντος	*II.* Τραπεζούς
—	—	5 Ἀλύας
—	—	6 Ῥιζαίου
—	—	7 Κόκκου
—	—	8 Εὐνίκου
—	—	9 Ἀραδάση
—	—	10 Μαρτυροπό-λεως
—	—	11 ὁ Ὑψηλός
Σεβάστεια	1 Σεβαστέιας	1 Σεβαστείας
Νικόπολις	3 Νικοπόλεως	3 Νικοπόλεως
Κολονία	5 Κολωνίας	5 Κολωνείας
Σάταλα	4 Σατάλων	4 Σατάλων
Σεβαστούπολις	2 Σεβαστουπόλεως	2 Σεβαστου-πόλεως
—	6 Βηρίσσης	6 Κηρίσσης [18]

[17] Ramsay, *Hist. Georg.*, p. 319.

[18] On the *Episcopal Lists* in general, *see* Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 148 sqq., and Robert, *Villes*, pp. 428 sqq. Also, Jones, *CERP*, Appendix.

ii. *Pontos and Armenia* [19]

Justinian's Re-organization		*Older Byzantine Arrangement*
Armenia Prima	Bazanis or Leontopolis	Unknown
”	Theodosiopolis	Cappadocia Prima
”	Trapezous	Pontos Polemoniakos
”	Kerasous	”
”	Satala	Armenia Prima
”	Nikopolis	”
”	Koloneia	”
Armenia Secunda	Sebasteia	Armenia Prima
”	Sebastopolis	”
”	Komana	Pontos Polemoniakos
”	Verissa	Armenia Prima
”	Zela	Helenopontos
Helenopontos	Amaseia urbs	Helenopontos
”	Amisus urbs [sic]	”
”	Ibora urbs	”
”	Eukhaita urbs	”
”	Andrapa urbs	”
”	Sinope urbs	”
”	Leontopolis urbs	”
”	Neokaisareia urbs	Pontos Polemoniakos
”	Polemonion urbs	”
”	Pityous phrourion	”
”	Sebastopolis phrourion	”

19 Ramsay, *Hist. Georg.*, p. 325.

J. Xenophon [20]

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ

I,ii

3. οἱ δὲ Περσικοι νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμέλονται δε ὧδε.

Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μιγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. 4. διῄρηται δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα τέτταρα μέρη· τούτων δ'ἔστιν ἓν μὲν παισίν, ἓν δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο τοῖς ὑπερ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δ' εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἕκαστοι τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἄνδρες, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἡνίκ' ἂν ἑκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς δεῖ παρεῖναι. οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα σὺν τοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὅπλοις πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων· οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἢν μὴ προππηθῇ παρεῖναι, οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπεῖναι καλόν.

5. Ἄρχοντες δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσι δώδεκα· δώδεκα καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διῄρηνται. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παισὶν ἐκ τῶν γεραιτέρων ᾑρημένοι εἰσὶν οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν τελεῖων ἀνδρῶν οἳ ἂν αὖ τοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων προστάται ᾑρημένοι, οἳ προστατεύουσιν, ὅπως καὶ οὗτοι τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἃ δὲ ἑκάστῃ ἡλικίᾳ προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὡς μᾶλλον δῆλον γένηται ᾗ ἐπιμέλονται ὡς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται.

6. Οἱ μὴν δη παῖδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· ...

8. ... μανθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν.

[20] Xen. *Cyrop.*, L. I, pp. 10/1-24/5.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἓξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται.

9. Οὗτοι δ' αὖ οἱ ἔφηβοι διάγουσιν ὧδε. δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐκ παίδεων ἐξέλθωσι κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ὥσπερ προειρήκαμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης· δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι· παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι ἤν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέῃ, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα· ὅταν δὲ ἐξίῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα καὶ παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεῷ κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν, ἔτι δὲ γέρρον καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι, τῷ δ', ἐὰν δέῃ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. 10. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμών ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλεται ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ... .

12. Αἱ δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τά τε ἄλλα ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. εἰσι δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἀγῶνες καὶ ἆθλα προτθεται· ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλεῖστοι ὦσι δαημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικώτατοι καὶ εὐπιστότατοι, ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολῖται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλα καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἀρχαί, ἤν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνῆσαι ἢ λῃστας ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ὅσα ἰσχύος ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἐστί,

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι πράττουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας. 13. ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου οὗτοι αὖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διάγουσιν ὧδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὅσπερ οἱ ἔφηβοι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι ἤν τι δέῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονούντων τε ἤδη ἔργα ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι δυναμένων. ἢν δέ ποι δέῃ στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δ' ἀγχέμαχα ὅπλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ γέρρον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, οἷόνπερ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραν ἢ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἀρχαι δὲ πᾶσαι τούτων καθίστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παίδων διδάσκαλοι.

Ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, εἴησαν μὲν ἂν οὗτοι πλεῖόν τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικαῦτα εἰς τοὺς γεραιτέρους ὄντας τε καὶ καλουμένους.

14. *Οἱ δ' αὖ γεραίτεροι οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἴκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τά τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἱροῦνται· καὶ ἤν τις ἢ ἐν ἐφήβοις ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἐλλίπῃ τι τῶν νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἄτιμος διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.*

15. *Ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεῖα, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν δηλωθείη διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι· τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπελήλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμπειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεῖα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπουσιν. οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας συναλίζεσθαι καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγένωνται ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις διαγένωνται ἀνεπίληπτοι, οὗτοι τῶν γεραιτέρων γίγνονται. οὕτω μὲν δη οἱ γεραίτερων διὰ πάντων τῶν παλῶν ἐληλυθότες καθίστανται· καὶ ἡ πολιτεία αὕτη, ᾗ οἴονται χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἂν εἶναι.*

III. ARMENIAN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

A. Throne list - Gahnamak [1]

ԳԱՀՆԱՄԱԿ

[Իմ Սա]հակայ խնդիր արարեալ ի դրան արքունի յԱրտաշէսի Թագաւորի զոր ի Տիսպոնն խաւսեցեալ եթէ ես զռամականն զնամա զոր Արտաշրի ի դիւանին տեսի ի քաղոց ամսոյ 'ժէ ։ Եւ Վռամայ արքայի և բարերարի և գիր արարի ես Սահակ կաթողիկոս թէ որպէս Ջեր բարերարութիւնդ հրաման տացէ Հայոց ազատաց և տանուտէրանց որպէս յառաջ առ Հայոց ազգին, նոյնպէս և ի ձեռում դիւանի շահհամա[ր]ին առնել, որ յայսմ հետէ Հայոց ազատաց և տանուտէրանց գահ ի յայտ լինէը ։ Նոյնպէս Ներսեհ հրամանաւ արքայից արքայի և ես [Սա]հակ Հայոց կաթողիկոս կնքեցաք զգահնեմակին և եղաք մատանի զարքայից արքայի և զմերս. և է այսպէս արդար և ճշմարիտ [2] ։

[Առաջին իշխան և մախղազն]

ա.	*Սիւնեաց տէր*	*ժե.*	*Ամատունի տէր*
բ.	*Ասպետն*	*ժզ.*	*Գողթան տէր*
գ.	*Արծրունեաց տէր*	*ժէ.*	*Գնունեաց տէր*
[դ.	*Մաղխացունի]*	*ժը.*	*Այղ Անձաւացի*
դ.	*Մամիկոնէից տէր*	*ժթ.*	*Տայոց*
ե.	*Շահապն Ծոփաց տէր*	*ի.*	*Բասենոյ դատաւորն*
զ.	*Մոկաց տէր*	*իա.*	*Գնթունեաց տէր*
է.	*Ռշտունեաց տէր*	*իբ.*	*Վարձաւունին*
ը.	*Վահնունեաց տէր*	*իգ.*	*Գարդմանայ տէր*
թ.	*Կասպէից տէր*	*իե.*	*Սահառունին*
ժ.	*Անձաւացեաց տէր*	*իզ.*	*Գաբեղէնից տէր*
ժա.	*Ապահունեաց տէր*	*իէ.*	*Աբեղէնից տէր*
ժբ.	*Կամսարականն*	*իը.*	*Սիւնեաց երկրորդն*
ժգ.	*Այղ Ապահունի*	*իթ.*	*Արծրունեաց երկրորդն*
ժդ.	*Վանանդացին*	*լ.*	*Արծրունեաց երրորդն*

[1] *See above* Chapter X, n. 26.

[2] On the problems of the Preface, *see above* Chapter X, n. 43. On this document in general, Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 229 sqq., and tables iv, xiii.

լա.	Մամիկոնէից երկրորդն	ծա.	Սպանդունին
լբ.	Ռոփսեանն	ծբ.	Առաւենեանն
լգ.	դ—Աշոցեանն	ծգ.	Տրունին
լդ.	Դիմաքսեանն	ծդ.	Մամբերացին
լե.	Բուխա Դիմաքսեանն	ծե.	Հաւնունին
լզ.	Այղ Աբեղեանն	ծզ.	Բժնունին
լէ.	Այղ Դիմաքսեանն	ծէ.	Քաջբերունին
լը.	Պալունին	ծը.	Մեհնունին
լթ.	Առաւեղեանն	ծթ.	Նախճերին
խ.	Աշահմարեանն	կ.	Քաղաքապետն արքունի
խա.	Համբուժեանն	կա.	Որսապետն արքունի
խբ.	Վարասպակեանն	կբ.	Արտաշեսեանն
խգ.	Ջիւնականն	կգ.	Վանանդացին երկրորդ
խդ.	Ակէացին	կդ.	Ցուլն
խե.	Ջարեհաւանեանն	կե.	Վիժանու[նի]
խզ.	Ընծայեցին	կզ.	Աքածու
խէ.	Մանդակունին	կէ.	Շիրակա Դիմաքսեան
խը.	Սղկունին	կը.	Գազրիկանն
խթ.	Տայգրեանն	կթ.	Մարացեան տ[էր]
ծ.	Երմանթունին	հ.	Վազրասպու[նին]

B. Military list [3]

Արևմտեան դուռն		Արեւելեան դուռն	
Անգեղ տուն	վն	Սիւնի	ա'քն
Բղեշխն Աղձնեաց	տ	Ամասկոնի	մ
Բզնունական	վ	Աւածացին	մ
Մանաւազեան	ռ	Վարձաւունի	մ
Բագարատունի	ռ	Տամրարացի	ճ
Խորխոռունի	ռ	Մազազացի	ճ
Ծոփացի	ռ	Ցողկեպան	ճ
Վահունի	ռ	Գրզճունի	ծ
Ապահունի	ռ	Վառնունի	ծ
Գնունի	շ	Բաքան	ծ
Բասենացի	ռ	Կճրունին	ծ
Պալունի	յ	Գուկանն	ծ

[3] *See above*, Chapter X, n. 27.

Ռնծաքին	տ	Պատսպարունին	ծ
Մանդակունի	յ	Գագրիկան	ծ
Սաղկունի	յ	Վիժանունի	ծ
Վարաժնունի	յ	Ջանդաղան	ծ
Այծենական	ճ	Սոդացի	ծ
Առուենեան	յ	Աքածեցի	ծ
Վարժնունեան	ճ	Անճշնեան	ծ
Սպան[դ]ունի	յ	Կինան	ծ
Ռափսեան	ճ	Տագրեան	ծ

Հիւսիսային դուռն		Հարաւային դուռն	
Բդեշխն Գուգարաց	տչ	Կադմէացի	ա'վմ
Կամսարական	ո	Կորդուացի	ռ
Կասպեցի	վ	Արծրունի	ռ
Ուտէացի	ռ	Ռըշտունի	ռ
Ծաւդէացի	ռ	Մոկացի	ռ
Տայեցի	ռ	Գողթնեցի	չ
Մամիկոնեանն	ռ	Անձևացի	չ
Վանանդացին	ռ	Հարուժեան	ճ
Գարդմանեցին	ռ	Տրպատունի	ճ
Որդունի	ջ	Մեհնունի	ճ
Առուեղեանքն	չ	Ակէացի	յ
Աշոցեան	չ	Ջարէհուանեայ	յ
Դիմաքսեան	յ	Եր[ու]անթունի	յ
Գընթունի	յ	Համաստունեան	ճ
Բոխայեցի	յ	Արտաշեսեան	յ
Գաբեղեան	յ	Սագրատունի	ճ
Աբեղեան	յ	Աբրահամեան	ճ
Հաւնունի	յ	Տրունի	յ
Սահառունի	յ	Բուժունի	մ
Ձևնականան	յ	Քաջբերունի	ճ
Աշխադարեան	ճ	Բոդունի	ճ
Վարազարտիկեան	ճ	Մուրացան	յ

… և զոմանս իյայլ աշխարհս գրաւեալս. և լինի թիւ մարտիկ արանց որ ընդ ազգաւք ձղ—ից հազարաց թող զսպասաւորս դրանն արքունի՝որ է ոստանդ որք ի պատերազմ ելանէին ընդ ա[ր]քայի և մարդպետական որ է ներքինի պահապան ի վերայ թագուհւոյն և գանձուցն և ընդ ամենայնն թիւ զօրացն հայոց՝ որ է հարիւր և քսան հազարաց [4] :

[4] On the *Military List, see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 229, 234 sqq., and table v.

C. Pseudo - Gahnamak [5]

Ե. Եւ իբրև ձեռնադրեցաւ մեծն Ներսէս 'ի Կեսարիա, և եկեալ 'ի Հայս նորոգէր զգահս իշխանացն Հայոց, զոր էր կարգեալ 'ի Խոսրովայ և յայլ թագաւորացն ։ Զնոյնն և նա կարգէր 'ի ժամ ճաշոյն 'ի սեղան արքային Արշակայ, բարձս չորեքարիւր, որ են այսոքիկ.

Հայկազնիք.
Պարթևեանք.
Այրարատեանք.
Բագրատունիք.
Տրդատունիք.
Ասպետունիք.
Մախազունիք.
Խորխոռունիք.
Արծրունիք.
Մամիկոնեանք.
Սիւնեցիք.
Ամատունիք.
Անգեղեանք.
Վրացիք.
Ծոփք.
Վարաժնունիք.
Մարդպետունիք.
Վահևունիք.
Պահլաւունիք.
Կազբք.
Սիսանեանք.
Կադմեանք.
Մանաւազեանք.
Եղեսեանք.
Գամրեանք.

Բզնունիք.
Սասանեանք.
Գիսոնք.
Եկեղեանք.
Քաւպետունիք.
Անձտեայք.
Սեբաստեանք.
Աշտիշատեանք.
Սրուանձտեայք.
Անձաւացիք.
Ասպագնունիք.
Ռշտունիք.
Վահանունիք.
Աղձնեանք.
Քողեանք.
Կազբունիք.
Կամսարականք.
Մոկացիք.
Սղկունիք.
Քնթունիք.
Ատրպատունիք.
Գողթնեայք.
Գազրիկանք.
Ձողկերտք.
Մախազեանք.
Մրուունիք.
Ռազմունիք.
Գաբեղեանք.
Սպարունիք.
Վահունիք.
Վրընջունիք.
Սուրեանք.
Դիմակսեանք.
Սրունիք.

[5] *Nersēs*, pp. 32-39.

Դարբանդեանք.
Արագածեանք.
Կոգովտեանք.
Ապահունիք.
Ընծայնոցք.
Հարքեանք.
Կորդուայք.
Առաւեղեանք.
Հաշտեանք.
Վրեանք.
Վանանդեանք.
Փառաճունիք.
Տաշրացիք.
Ուրծեայք.
Մանդակունիք.
Տայք.
Մելիտեանք.
Դաշտկարինք.
Բասենք.
Ծաղկունիք.
Մամիկոնք երկրորդ.
Փերէժունիք.
Տլքեանք.
Բագուանք.
Աշտոցեանք.
Աբեղունիք.
Խաղտեանք.
Սահառունիք.
Աշխադորեանք.
Գնունիք.
Համազգունիք.
Ակեայք.
Վիժունիք.
Առափսունիք.
Ճահոռապետք.
Ծայթիունիք.
Ջանահճիրապետք.
Վարազատակեանք.

Ընծայենիք.
Մղրունիք.
Արշունիք.
Քառեանք.
Մարդաղեանք.
Լեկանդեանք.
Խորձենիք.
Ջիւնականք.
Համուծեանք.
Կորթեանք.
Կղունդիք.
Զարեհանք.
Տուրբերանեանք.
Բժունիք.
Տփխունիք.
Մեհրունիք.
Քաղաքապետք.
Կայուշեանք.
Սպանդունիք.
Արտաշատեանք.
Որսապետք.
Արքածոց տեարք.
Ռափսեանք.
Բագրասպունիք.
Պարսպունիք.
Աղեղնադրօշք.
Գրչունիք.
Նետողք.
Նամակունիք.
Քաղուեանք.
Ասպարախաղք.
Աբրահամեանք.
Հիւսնականք.
Բաղասականք.
Ծիղբք.
Լեառնականք.
Սապրասամեանք.
Հենմատակք.

Գորդուայք·
Վարդեշեանք·
Դրամանդք·
Խաչեանք·
Խաղբեանք·
Դրօշակիրք·
Մախալունիք·
Ոսկեմանիք·
Արուժեանք·
Կաղարջք·
Տաթնեանք·
Դատավճիռք·
Ձորաբնակք·
Ճակատամուղք·
Դերջայինք·
Շահապունիք·
Բարմեայք·
Կամխեայք·
Գաւառապետք ։

Եւ այլ որք չէին 'ի գահս.

Ցուրիպեանք·
Փօքայունիք·
Մուացեանք·
Ապեկունիք·
Խնունիք·
Բագնունիք·
Աղնեւունիք·
Ցիւրանեանք·
Կգնունիք·
Տուչունիք·
Կռունիք·
Մագնունիք·
Մախազունիք ։

Այս են գահոյք և այլ ևս յոլով, զոր ծանր համարեցայ արկանել ընդ գրով. զոր նորոգեաց Արշակ թագաւորն և կարգեաց 'ի ժամ ճաշոյն իւրոյ 'ի սեղան իւր՝ բարձս չորեքարիւրս՝ հրամանաւ մեծին Ներսիսի ։ Իսկ 'ի թիկանց կուսէ նստէին եկեղեցականք, դասսինն [6] ։

D. Armenian princes accompanying St. Gregory to Caesarea

i. *Armenian version* [7]

ՃԺԲ. Իսկ թագաւորն կաղվաղակի փութով և երկիւղիւ՝ մեծաւ խնդութեամբ հոգացեալ, գումարեալ զգլխաւորսն նախարարացն, զկուսակալս աշխարհին. առաջին իշխանն Անգեղ տան, երկրորդ իշխանն Անձնեաց՝ որ էր բդեաշխն մեծ. երրորդ իշխանն Մարդպետութեան իշխանութեանն, չորրորդ իշխանն թագակապ 'իշխանութեան Ասպետութեանն, հինգերորդ իշխանն Սպարապետութեան, զօրավար Հայոց աշխարհին, վեցերորդ իշխանն Կորդովտաց աշխարհին, եօթներորդ իշխանն Ծոփաց աշխարհին. ութերորդ իշխանն

[6] On the *Pseudo-Gahnamak* in the *Vita* of St. Nersēs, *see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 229.

[7] *Agat'*., pp. 590-591.

Գուգարացւոց աշխարհին `որ միւս անուանեալ բդեաշխն, իններորդ իշխանն Ռշտունեաց աշխարհին, տասներորդ իշխանն Մոկաց աշխարհին, մետասանե–րորդ իշխանն Սիւնեաց աշխարհին, երկոտասաներորդ իշխանն Ծաւդէից աշխարհին, երեքտասաներորդ իշխանն Ուտիացւոց աշխարհին, չորեքտա–սաներորդ իշխանն շահապն Ջարաւանդ և Հեր գաւառի, հնգետասաներորդ իշխանն Մաղխազութեան տանն, վեշտասաներորդ իշխանն Արծրունեաց :

Այս իշխանք են ընտիրք, կուսակալք, կողմնակալք, հազարաւորք, բիւրա–ւորք ի մէջ Հայաստան աշխարհի տանն Թորգոմայ. զոր գումարեաց Թագաւորն, և առաքեաց զնոսա ի կողմանս կապադովկացւոց ի քաղաքն կեսարացւոց, զոր ըստ Հայերէն լեզուին Մաժաք կոչեն. զի տարեալ զԳրիգորն՝ քահանայապետ կացուսցեն իւրեանց աշխարհին. և հանդերձեցան դէտ ունել ճանապարհացն : Եւ հրամայեաց հրովարտակ գրել օրինակ զայս :

ii. *Arabic version* [8]

86. Cum igitur pervenerunt epistulae, ad eum venerunt tres reges, rex Abchazorum (’bḫ’z) et rex Georgiorum (ğrğ’n) et rex Albanorum (’ll’nyn) et cum ipsis caterva principum : primus princeps ’lḫbns. Secundus princeps ’rṭnwğ nomine vitaxa (byṯqs) magnus. Tertius princeps ’rmṯ’n. Quartus princeps ’sbytywn nomine ’sbyts, qui praepositus erat custodiae montium qwsywn et mṭznywn. Quintus princeps mqwny’nwn nomine ’ṣb’r’b’ts : hic autem praefectus erat exercitui totius Armeniae, equitum et peditum, nec discedebat a rege magnae Armeniae, atque in bellis omnes quos memoravimus principes, et memorabimus, sub eius potestate erant, praeterquam quod princeps qmrḏl non erat sub eius potestate, quae (regio) est fortes qrḏyṭn. Septimus regens magnae regionis ṣwfnys, quae est iuxta regionem fluminum. Octavus princeps regionis ġurġr. Nonus princeps rstnwn. Decimus princeps mfnṣwn. Undecimus princeps swnywn et custos. Duodecimus princeps dsbwd’wn. Decimus tertius princeps ’tywn. Decimus quartus princeps zwrydwn, et ipse iuxta qrḏyṭwn. Decimus quintus princeps ḫrḫwrwnyws, dux, qui rector erat mlḫ’zwn’h. Decimus sextus princeps (ἄρχων) ’rtzrwnyws. Et omnes gentes convenerunt secundum gradus suos.

87. Et hi sunt sedecim principes quos enumeravit rex et ad quos

[8] Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 72-73 = Marr, *Christianization*, p. 114.

misit propter honores eorum. Atque deliberaverunt de iis quae inter ipsos erant, constitueruntque ut ad illum irent, et hoc perfecerunt.

iii. *Greek version* [9]

135. ... ὁ βασιλεύς ... κελεύει οὖν τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν σατραπῶν συγκαλέσασθαι καὶ τοπάρχας. καὶ πρῶτος ἄρχων Ἀγγελιτῶν οἴκου· ὁ δεύτερος ἄρχων Ἀλσενῶν, ὁ τῆς κομιτατησίας· ὁ τρίτος ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας πατρίκιος λεγόμενος· ὁ τέταρτος ἄρχων ὁ τὸ διάδημα ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπιδῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἀσπέτων· ὁ πέμπτος ἄρχων στρατοπεδάρχης στρατηλατικῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας· ὁ ἕκτος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς Κορδουϊτῶν χώρας· ὁ ἕβδομος ἄρχων ὁ ἕτερος κομιτατήσιος· ὁ ὄγδοος ἄρχων τῆς Ῥουστινῶν χώρας· ὁ ἔννατος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς κομίτων χώρας· ὁ δέκατος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς Συνιτῶν χώρας· ὁ δωδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ Σουδαίων χώρας· ὁ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ τῆς Οὐτίων χώρας· ὁ τεσσαρισκαιδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ζαρουανδῶν καὶ Χερᾶς τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ κέμπτος και δέκατος ὁ τοῦ Μαλχαζιῶν οἴκου· ὁ ἑξκαιδέκατος ἄρχων ὁ Ἀρσουρουνῶν. οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοι τοποκράτορες, πατριαρχικοι, χιλίαρχοι καὶ μυρίαρχοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας οἴκου Θοργώμ, οὓς συναθροίσας ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Καππαδοκίας εἰς πόλιν Καισαραίων, κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίων διάλεκτον Μασὰχ λεγομένην, ὅπως ἀπελθόντες τὸν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιερέα καταστήσωσι πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ.

iv. *Greek Life of Saint Gregory* [10]

98. Συνῆλθον δὲ πρὸς τὰ προγράμματα οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Λαζῶν τε καὶ Ἰβέρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, καὶ μετὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ἀρχῇ Ἰνγιληνῆς καὶ Ἀντιστηνῆς τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῆς Ἀρζια<νη>νῆς πιτιάξης ὁ μέγας· ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν Μέρδων τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος γενεάρχης τῶν Ὀσπιτιανῶν ἐπάρχης ὅστις κα<τα> τεταγμένος ὑπῆρχεν φυλάττειν τὰ μέρη τῶν Καυκασίων ὀρέων καὶ

[9] *Ag.*, pp. 68-69 = *AASS*, Sept. VIII (Antwerp, 1762), pp. 320-400.
[10] Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 72-73.

Τζάνων· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὁ τῶν Μαμακουννιανῶν ἡγεμών, ἀσπαραπέτης, πάντας τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱππότας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν, συνὼν τε ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν πάντας τούς τε προηγουμένους καὶ ὑποταττομένους <...> ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν στρατηγίαν· ἕκτος δὲ ὁ τοπάρχης τῶν Κορδουανῶν χώρας οὕτω καλουμένης, πλησίον ὑπαρχούσης τῶν Ἀνδριοκοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος ἐξουσιαστὴς τῆς Μεγάλης Σοφανηνῆς πλησιαζούσης τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἡγεμὼν τῶν Γουγαρῶν χώρας, ὅστις εἶχεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀξίαν πιτιάξου· ἔννατος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ῥουστουνίων τοπάρχης· ὁ δὲ δέκατος ὁ τῶν Μοκασῶν σατράπης· ὁ δὲ ἑνδέκατος ὁ τῶν Συνίων φύλαρχος· δωδέκατος ὁ τῶν Τζαϋδέων στρατηγός· ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος <... τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος> ὁ σατράπης Ζαυραβανδῶν καὶ Χειρῶν χώρας, καὶ τούτων πλησίων τῶν Κοδρίτων· ὁ δὲ πεντεκαιδέκατος γενεάρχης ὁ τῶν Χουρχόρων ὡς ἡγούμενος ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καλουμένην Μαλχαζόβε· ἑξκαιδέκατος ὁ τῶν Ἀρτζ<ρ>ουνίων ἐξουσιαστής· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ γένη κατὰ τάξιν συνήχθησαν [11].

E. Armenian Princes accompanying Trdat III to Rome

i. *Armenian version* [12]

ՃԻՋ. ··· Ապա իբրև լուաւ զայս ամենայն մեծ արքայն Հայոց, խորհուրդ առնայր վասն ճանապարհացն այնոցիկ. Հանդերձեալ կազմէր, առնոյր ընդ իւր մեծ Արքեպիսկոպոսն Գրիգոր և զնորուն որդին զՌըստաքէս,և զեպիսկոպոսն Աղբիանոս : Եւ ի զինուորական կողմանէն զչորեսին զահերէցսն իւրոյ տաճարին, որ բդեաշխքն կոչին. զառաջին սահմանակալն ի Նոր Շիրական կողմանէն, և զերկրորդ սահմանակալն յԱսորեստանեայց կողմանէն, և զերրորդն յԱրուեստան կողմանէն, զչորրորդն ի Մասքթաց կողմանէն. զմեծ իշխանն Անգեղ տան, և զԹագադիր ասպետն, և զսպարապետն մեծ, և զիշխանն Մոկաց, և զիշխանն Սիւնեաց, և զիշխանն Ռշտունեաց, և զիշխանն Մաղխազութեան տանն, և զշահապն Ծահապիվանի, և զիշխանն Սպասկապետութեանն : Եւ այլ բազում մեծամեծօք, և եթանասուն հազարաւ ընտիր զօրուն հանդերձ խաղայր գնայր յԱյրարատ գաւառէ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքէ անցանել ի սահմանս Յունաց. ···

[11] On all the versions of the so-called " *Agat'angelos* " and their problems, *see* Garitte, *Agathange*, also *above* Chapter X, n. 89a. On this listing of Armenian princes to which he refers as " List A ", *see also* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 159 sqq., and notes, also table vi.

[12] *Agat'.*, pp. 643-644.

ii. *Greek version* [13]

164. ... ὅτε οὖν ἤκουσε τοιαῦτα ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐβουλεύσατο μετὰ σπουδῆς πορευθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἕτοιμος γενόμενος, παραλαμβάνει τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Γρηγόριον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρωστάκην ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων τοὺς τέσσαρας τιμιωτάτους τοῦ ἰδίου παλατίου, τὸν πρῶτον τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ Νορσιρακέων μερῶν, τὸν δεύτερον τοποκράτορα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας μερῶν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρουαστῶν μερῶν, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀπὸ τῶν Μασαχούτων Οὔννων μερῶν, καὶ τὸν μέγιστον ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου τῶν λεγομένων Ἀγγελιτῶν, καὶ τὸν στέφοντα τὸν βασιλέα ἄρχοντα, Ἀσπὲτ λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸν <u>στρατοπεδάρχην</u> τὸν μέγαν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Μαλκαζιτῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Συνιτῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Ῥεστουνιτῶν, καὶ ἀπογράφοντα ἄρχοντα, καὶ τὸν ἐθνάρχην Σααπιανῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Σπασκαπετέων, καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἄλλων μεγάλων καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας ἐκλεκτῶν στρατοπέδων.

165. ἐξελθὼν οὖν Ἀραρὰτ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ Οὐαλαρσαπὰτ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπέρασεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰωνίας. ...[14].

F. Armenian Princes summoned to Ctesiphon

i. *Łazar P'arpeçi* [15]

II. *Իէ ··· Եւ որք ի ժամուն ի մեծամեծ աւագանւոյն Հայոց՝ յուղի անկեալ ճանապարհորդեցան՝ այսոքիկ են ։ Ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց՝ Վասակ Սիւնեաց տէրն, որ ի ժամուն մարզպանն էր Հայոց. և ի տոհմէն Արծրունեաց Ներշա— պուհ. ի տոհմէն Ըռշտունեաց Արտակ. ի տոհմէն Խորխոռունեաց Գադիշոյ. ի տոհմէն Մամիկոնէից Վարդան, Հայոց սպարապետ և տէրն Մամիկոնէից. ի տոհմէն Մոկաց Արտակ. ի տոհմէն Ապահունեաց Մանէճ. ի տոհմէն Ամա— տունեաց Վահան. ի տոհմէն Վահևունեաց Գիւտ. ի տոհմէն Անձևացեաց Շմաւոն. և յաշխարհէն Վրաց բդեշխն Աշուշա, և այլ տանուտեարք աշխարհին ։*

[13] *Ag.*, p. 83.

[14] This passage does not occur in the Arabic version or in the new Greek version of the *Life of St. Gregory* published by Garitte, *Agathange*, *cf. Ibid.*, pp. 327-331. On the princes accompanying Trdat III on this hypothetical journey, *see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, " List B ", pp. 159, 161-162, and table vi.

[15] *ŁP'*, pp. 143-144, 236-237.

II. *ԽԲ … Առաքէր առ նոսա մարզպանն Ատրորմիզդն ի բանէն արքային Յազկերտի, և երդնոյր նոցա դաւով՝ թէ ոչ զոք սպանանեմք ի ձէնջ, և ոչ զտէրութիւնդ և զպատիւ հանեմք յումեքէ : Եւ այսպէս նենգով նուաճեալ զմարդիկն՝ կալաւ զամենեսեան և տայր խաղացուցանել ի դուռն Արեաց. զիշխանն մեծ Արծրունեաց զՆերշապուհ, և զիշխանն տանն Ամատունեաց, և զիշխանն տանն Վանանդեայ, և զիշխանն տանն Արշարունեաց զԱրշաւիր, և զիշխանն տանն Անձևացեաց զՇմաւոն, և զիշխանն տանն Ամատունեաց զՎահանն. և զիշխանն Գնթունեաց, և զիշխանն Աշոցաց, և զիշխանն Առաւ— եղենից զՓափաք, և զիշխանն Տաշրայ զՎրէն, և զիշխանն Արծրունեաց զԱպրսամ, և զայլսն ի տանուտէրացն և յաւագ սեպհացն, խաղացուցանէին ի դուռն Թագաւորին Յազկերտի : Կամեցեալ չու առնել գնալ ի դուռն և ինքն նենգաւոր իշխանն Սիւնեաց Վասակ, բայց նախ տայր խաղացուցանել յառաջագոյն քան զինքն :*

ii. *Elišē* [16]

II. *… Եւ անդէն Թագաւորն ի ներքս կոչեցեալ զդպրապետն, հրամայէր գրել հրովարտակ. և ոչ եւս ըստ սովորութեանն, այլ բանս զայրագինս իբր առ ատելիս և անպիտանս, չյիշելով ամենեւին զմեծամեծ վաստակս տիրասէր մարդկանն. այլ միայն կոչոյ հրաման տուեալ յականէ յանուանէ զարս, զոր ինքն ճանաչէր, որոց անուանքն են այս :*

Ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց ՎԱՍԱԿ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Արծրունեաց ՆԵՐՇԱՊՈՒՀ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Ռշտունեաց ԱՐՏԱԿ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Խորխոռունեաց ԳԱԴԵՇՈՅ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Մամիկոնէից ՎԱՐԴԱՆ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Մոկաց ԱՐՏԱԿ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Ապահունեաց ՄԱՆԷՃ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Ամատունեաց ՎԱՀԱՆ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Վահևունեաց ԳԻՒՏ անուն :
Ի տոհմէն Անձևացեաց ՇՄԱՒՈՆ անուն :
Զայս նախարարքս յականէ յանուանէ կոչեցին ի դուռն արքունի, … [17].

[16] *Elišē*, pp. 42-43.

[17] On all of the princely lists in Łazar P'arpeçi and Elišē, and their reliability, *see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 246 sqq., and tables viii-ix.

G. Partisans of Vasak of Siwnik'[18]

i. *Łazar P'arpeçi*

II. ԼՁ ··· *Եւ որք խոստորեցան զկնի սատանային ընդ ուխտանենգին Վասակայ՝ են այսոքիկ. իշխանն Բագրատունեաց Տիրոց, իշխանն Խորխոռունեաց Գադիշոյ, իշխանն Ապահունեաց Մանէճ, իշխանն Վահեւունեաց Գիւտ, իշխանն Պալունեաց Վարազշապուհն, իշխանն Աբեղենից* [sic] *Արտէն, իշխանն Ուրծայ Ներսեհ, և այլք յոստանկաց, և սեպուհք ոմանք յիւրաքանչիւր տոհմէ :*

ii. *Elišē*[19]

III. ··· *Իսկ զգունդն երրորդ ի ձեռս Վասակայ իշխանին Սիւնէաց, որ ոչ ի բաց կացեալ էր յուխտէն հեթանոսաց ըստ ներքին խորհրդոցն իւրոց : Ընտրեաց և էառ ընդ իւր՝ զորոց գիտէր զթուլութիւն հաւատոց նոցա.*

Զիշխանն Բագրատունեաց զօրօքն իւրովք :
Զիշխանն Խորխոռունեաց զօրօքն իւրվք :
Զիշխանն Ապահունեաց զօրօքն իւրովք :
Զիշխանն Վահեւունեաց զօրօքն իւրովք :
Զիշխանն Պալունեաց զօրօքն իւրովք :
Զիշխանն Գաբեղենից զօրօքն իւրովք :
Զիշխանն Ուրծայ զօրօքն իւրովք :

Եւ զայլ բազում զօրս յարքունի տանէն արկ յինքն, և զսեպուհս ոմանս յայլմէ տոհմէ :

IV. ··· *ձեռն էարկ և եհաս զբազումս ի գնդէն Քրիստոսի, և խառնեաց ի գունդս դիւաց : Եւ ի բազում յայլ տեղիս գողաբար սողեցաւ և եմուտ իբրև զօձ ի մէջ ամրացելոցն. և խրամ հատեալ յափշտակեաց և էառ և եհաս յայտնութեամբ զբազումս յազատաց և զբազմագոյնս ի շինականաց, և զայլ ոմանս յանուանեալ քահանայից : Որոց անունքն են այս՝ գործակցաց նորա.*

[18] *ŁP'*, p. 209.
[19] *Elišē*, pp. 74, 91-92.

Իշխանն Ռշտունեաց՝ Արտակ անուն.
Իշխանն Խորխոռունեաց՝ Գադիշոյ անուն.
Իշխանն Վահեւունեաց՝ Գիւտ անուն.
Իշխանն Բագրատունեաց՝ Տիրոց անուն.
Իշխանն Ապահունեաց՝ Մանէճ անուն.
Իշխանն Գաբեղէնիքց՝ Արտէն անուն.
Իշխանն Ակէոյ Ընջուղ՝ անուն.
Իշխանն Ուրծայ՝ Ներսեհ անուն.
Իշխանն մեւս ևս Պալունեաց՝ Վարազշապուհ անուն.
Սեպուհ մի Ամատունեաց՝ Մանէն անուն.

Բազում և այլ ազատ մարդիկ, զոր ոստանիկսն անուանեն՝ յարքունի տանէ :
Եւ բովանդակ գիւր բոլոր աշխարհն ապստամբեցոյց յուրացութիւն, ոչ միայն ըստ աշխարհական բազմութեանն, այլ և զքազումս ի սուրբ ուխտէ եկեղեցւոյն [20].

H. PARTISANS OF VARDAN MAMIKONEAN

i. *Łazar P'arpeçi* [21]

ԼԴ. Եւ սպարապետն Հայոց տէրն Մամիկոնէից երանելին Վարդան՝ առեալ ընդ իւր ի տանուտերացն Հայոց, որք ջերմեռանդն սիրով ճեպէին մարտիրոսութեան ժամուն պատահել, որք էին այսոքիկ. Խորէն Խորխոռունի, Արշաւիր Կամսարական, և Թաթուլ Դիմաքսեան, և Արտակ Պալունի, և Գիւտն Վահեւունեաց, և Հմայեակ Դիմաքսեան, և այլ տանուտեարք և սեպուհք, և բազումք ի զօրացն Հայոց, որք ինքնայօժար փութով փափագէին լինել վրէժխնդիր ուխտի սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, և տալ զանձինս ի մահ ի վերայ սուրբ և ճշմարիտ հաւատոյն Քրիստոսի. և այլ գունդք ի զօրացն Մարդպետական այրուձիոյ, փոյթք ի գործ պատերազմին առաքինութեան.

ԼԹ. ··· Բայց որք ի ժամուն երանելի և երկնաւոր կոչմանն եղեն արժանաւորք ընդ սրբոյն Վարդանայ և նահատակեցան, են այսոքիկ. յազգէն Խորխոռունեաց՝ երանելին Խորէն. յազգէն Պալունեաց՝ երանելին սեպուհն Արտակ. յազգէն Գնդունեաց՝ երանելին Տաճատ. յազգէն Դիմաքսենից՝ երանելին Հմայեակ. յազգէն Քաջբերունեաց՝ երանելին Ներսեհ. յազգէն Գնունեաց՝ երանելին Վահան. յազգէն Ընծայնւոյ՝ երանելին. Արսէն յազգէն Սրուանձտայ՝

[20] *See above* Appendix III-F, n. 17.
[21] *ŁP'*, pp. 198-199, 227-228.

երանելին Գարեգին ։ Եւ որպէս շատ խուզիւ և բազում քննութեամբ հարցեալ և ուսաք զնահատակելոցն թիւ՝ որք ի տեղւոջ պատերազմին պսակեցան ընդ աւագ նախարարսն, երկերիւր եօթանասուն և վեց այր ։ Եւ զորս յամրոցացն իջուցեալ սպանին սրով և կամ փղօք կոխեցին եօթն հարիւր և յիսուն այր. որք լինին միահամուռ, հազար երեսուն և վեց այր. զորոց իւրաքանչիւր անուն վարձահատոյցն Քրիստոս գրեալ պահէ ի դպրութեան կենաց ։ Իսկ ի զօրացն Պարսիցն որք անկան ի պատերազմին յաւուրն յայնմիկ՝ զոր ստուգիւ համարեալ պատմեցին մեզ տեղեկացեալք ի զօրագլխացն Պարսից, երեքհազարք հինգ հարիւր քառասուն և չորս այր ։

ii. *Ełišē* [22]

V. … *Եւ փութով ամենեքեան ի տեղի պատերազմին եկեալ հասանէին իւրաքանչիւր զօրօք և ամենայն պատրաստութեամբ, նոքա և որ բունքն հաստատուն կացեալ էին ի տեղւոջն ։*

Ներշապուհ Արծրունի,
Եւ Խորէն Խորխոռունի,
Եւ ինքն Սպարապետն,
Եւ Արտակ Պալունի,
Եւ Վահան Ամատունի,
Եւ Գիւտն Վահեւունեաց,
Եւ Թաթուլ Դիմաքսեան,
Եւ Արշաւիր Արշարունի,
Եւ Շմաւոն Անձաւացի,
Եւ Տաճատ Գնթունի,
Եւ Ատոմ Գնունի,
Եւ Խորով Գաբեղեան,
Եւ Կարէն Սահառունի,
Եւ Հմայեակ Դիմաքսեան,
Եւ միւս եւս Գազրիկ Դիմաքսեան,
Եւ Ներսեհ Քաջբերունի,
Եւ Փարսման Մանդակունի,
Եւ Արսէն Ընձայացի,
Եւ Այրուկ Սղկունի,

[22] *Ełišē*, pp. 99-100, 119.

Եւ Վրէն Տաշրացի,
Եւ Ապրսամ Արծրունեացն,
Եւ Շահխոռապետն արքունի,
Եւ Խուրս Սրուանձտեաց,
Եւ Քողեանքն և Ակէացիքն և Տրպատունիքն, և զօրքն Ռշտունեաց, և ամենայն գործակալքն արքունի իւրաքանչիւր զօրօքն հանդերձ ։

Սոքա ամենեքեան համագունդք հասանէին ի գործ պատերազմին ի դաշտն Արտազու և լինէր հանդէս համարուն վաթսուն և վեց հազար այր ընդ հեծեալ և ընդ հետևակ ։

… Եւ այս անուանք են քաջ նահատակացն, որ անդէն ի տեղւոջն կատարեցան
Յազգէն Մամիկոնէից Քաջն Վարդան հարևր երեսուն երեք արամբք.
Յազգէն Խորխոռունեաց Խորէնն Կորովի իննևտասն արամբք.
Յազգէն Պալունեաց Արին Արտակ յիսուն և ևթն արամբք.
Յազգէն Գնթունեաց Ջարմանայլին Տաճատ իննևտասն արամբք.
Յազգէն Դիմաքսենից Իմաստունն Հմայեակ քսան և երկու արամբք.
Յազգէն Քաջբերունեաց Հրաշակերտն Ներսեհ ևթն արամբք.
Յազգէն Գնունեաց Մանուկն Վահան երիւք արամբք.
Յազգէն Ընծայնոց Արդարն Արսէն ևթն արամբք.
Յազգէն Սրուանձտայ Յառաջադէմն Գարեգին երկու հարազատօքն և ութուտասն արամբք ։

Այս երկերիւր ութսուն և ևթն նահատակք, ընդ ինն մեծամեծ նախարարսն անդէն ի տեղւոջն կատարեցան ։ Եւ յարքունի տանէն և ի տանէն Արծրունեաց և յիւրաքանչիւր յայլոց նախարարաց տանէն, թող զայս երկերիւր ութսուն և ևթնս, և այլ ևս ևթն հարևր և քառասուն այր, որք զանուանս իւրաքանչիւր ի դպրութիւն կենաց գրեցին ի նմին աւուր ի մեծ պատերազմին ։ Եւ միահամուռ լինի ամենայն հազար և երեսուն և վեց ։

Իսկ ի կողմանէ ուրացելոցն անկանէր յայնմ աւուր երեք հազար հինգ հարիւր քառասուն և չորք այր ։ Ինն այր ի նոցանէ ի մեծ պատուաւորացն էր, … [23]

I. Armenian Princes Prisoners in Persia

i. *Łazar P'arpeçi* [24]

II. *Խէ. Իսկ զսուրբ քահանայսն Աստուծոյ, զտէր Յովսէփ կաթուղիկոս և զտէր Սահակ Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոս, և զերանելի երէցն տէր Ղևոնդ, և զտէր Մուշէ դրան երէցն Ներշապհոյ Արծրունեաց տեառն, և զտեր Սամուէլ*

[23] *See above* Appendix III-F, n. 17.
[24] *ŁP'*, pp. 272-273.

երէցն Արածոյ, և զտէր Աբրահամ սարկաւագ, և զտէր Արշէն երէց Եղեգեկի, և զտէր Քաջաջ սարկաւագ, զսոսա ուխտքահանայս և քրիստոսասէր կապեալ նախարարքն Հայոց, որոց անուանք են այսոքիկ. ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց երկու եղբարք Բաբկէն և Բակուր. ի տոհմէն Արծրունեաց Ներշապուհ և Շաւասպ և Շնգին և Մեհրուժան և Պարգև և Տաճատ. ի տոհմէն Մամիկոնէից Համազասպեան և Համազասպ և Արտաւազդ և Մուշեղ. ի տոհմէն Կամսարականաց Արշաւիր և Թաթ և Վարձոյ. ի տոհմէն Ամատունեաց Վահան և Առանձար և Առնակ. ի տոհմէն Գնունեաց Ատոմ. ի տոհմէն Դիմաքսենից Թաթուլ և Սատոյ, երկու եւ այլովք տոհմակցովք. ի տոհմէն Անձևացեաց Շմաւոն և Առաւան. ի տոհմէն առաջին Առաւեղենից Փափակ և Վարազդեն և Դատ. ի տոհմէն Արծրունեաց Ապրսամ. ի տոհմէն Մանդակունեաց Սահակ և Փարսման. ի տոհմէն Տաշրա— ցեաց Վրէն. ի տոհմէն Ռոփսենից Բաբիկ և Յոհան : Եւ զսոսա երեսուն և մի այր ի նախարարացն Հայոց, հրաման տայր թագաւորն Յազկերտ խիստ կապանօք պահել անդէն ի Վրկանի, մինչև յամս վեշտասաներորդ թագաւո— րութեանն իւրոյ :

ii. *Elišē*[25]

ԱՆՈՒԱՆՔ ՆԱԽԱՐԱՐԱՑՆ Որք կամօք յօժարութեամբ վասն սիրոյն Քրիստոսի ետուն զանձինս ի կապանս արքունի :

Յազգէն Սիւնեաց երկու եղբարք Բաբգէն և Բակուր.

Յազգէն Արծրունեաց Մերշապուհ և Շաւասպ և Շնգին և Մեհրուժան և Պարգև և Տաճատ.

Յազգէն Մամիկոնէից Համազասպեան և Համազասպ և Արտաւազդ և Մուշեղ

Յազգէն Կամսարականաց Արշաւիր և Թաթ, Վարձ, Ներսեհ և Աշոտ.

Յազգէն Ամատունեաց Վահան և Առանձար և Առնակ.

Յազգէն Գնունեաց Ատոմ.

Յազգէն Դիմաքսենից Թաթուլ և Մատոյ, երկու եւ այլովք ընկերօք.

Յազգէն Անձևացեաց Շմաւոն և Ջուարէն և Առաւան.

Յազգէն Առաւեղենից Փափակ և Վարազդէն և Դատ.

ՅԱրծրունեաց տոհմէն Ապրսամ.

Ի տոհմէն Մանդակունեաց Սահակ և Փարսման.

Յազգէն Տաշրացեաց Վրէն.

ՅՌափսոնեան տանէն Բաբիկ և Յոհան :

[25] *Elišē*, p. 193, *cf.* also pp. 178-179.

Այս երեսուն և հինգ արք, են որ յաւագ նախարարացն, և են որ ի կրսերա– գունիցն, սակայն ամենեքեան ըստ մարմնոյ են նախարարազունք, իսկ ըստ Հոգևոր առաքինութեանն ամենեքեան երկնային քաղաքացիք : Եւ բազում են այլ ազատ մարդիկ, են որ յարքունի տանէ, և են որ ի տանէ նախարարացն իսկ նոցուն, նիզակակիցք և մարտակիցք քաջ նահատակացն : Եւ ամենեկին առքա կամօք մատնեցան ի սուրբ կապանս չարչարանացն [26] :

J. List of Armenian Churches in Jerusalem [27]

ՎԱՍՆ ՎԱՆՈՐԷԻՑ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՈՐ ՅԵՐՈՒՍԱՂԷՄ

(*Անաստաս վարդապետ*)

Ի ժամանակս թագաւորութեան Տրդատայ և ի Հայրապետութեան Սրբոյն Գրիգորի Լուսաւորչին, մեծամեծ իշխանքն Հայոց շինեցին Վանորայք ի սուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ. որոց անուանք վանորէիցն են այսոքիկ.

Պետրոսի վանքն, որ արտաքոյ քաղաքին է, ի կողմանէ Սելովամայ, որ կոչի Հառաչումն Պետրոսի. ընչիւք և ծախիւք արքունի շինեալ էղեւ :

Պանդայ վանքն, որ սուրբ Կարապետին է, որ յարեւելից կողմանէ ի Ձիթե– նեաց լերինն կայ, նոյնպէս արքունի ծախիւք շինեալ, յանուն սուրբ Կաթո– ղիկէին որ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի, զոր Աղուանք ունին մինչև ցայժմ :

Մըժայ վանքն, որ յանուն Սուրբ Քառասնիցն, զոր այժմ Տաճիկք ունին :

Մերձ ի նա Բատին վանքն Շիրակացւոց, զոր Կնկղաւորաց վանք յետոյ անուանեցաւ :

Սուրբ Գէորգայ վանքն, ի նոյն կողմն է, զոր այժմ աւեր է :

Նորավանք, մերձ ի գերեզման Եսայեայ մարգարեին, ի նոյն կողմն Ձիթե– նեաց լերինն, զոր այժմ քակեալ են Տաճիկք :

Խաղայ երանելւոյ վանքն, որ է ի Ձորն Յովսափատու, մերձ ի Գեթսեմանի :

Սուրբ Պողիոքտոսի վանքն, շինեալ Ձորրորդապետն Հայոց ի հիւսիսոյ կողմն :

Արծրունեաց վանքն, որ յանուն Սուրբ Գէորգայ :

Ջարեհաւանի վանքն, արտաքոյ քաղաքին :

Մամիկոնեանց վանքն որ յանուն Սուրբ Կարապետին :

Գուգարաց վանքն :

Բղեշխի վանքն շինեալ ի նոյն կողմն, որ կոչի Ս. Սարգսի և Բագոսի :

[26] *See above* Appendix III-F, n. 17.

[27] Alishan, *Hayapatum*, pp. 227-229.

Սիւնեաց վանքն որ յանուն Սուրբ Գէորգայ, զոր Տաճիկք քակեցին :
Ըղըշտունէաց վանքն, որ ուրկանոց էր Հայոց վանորէիցն, նոյն կողմն :
Խոռխոռունեաց վանքն, ի նոյն կողմն :
Երիցավանք, որ ի Դաւթի դրան ե, որ յանուն Սուրբ Աստուածածնի է :
Սուրբ Ղեւոնդեանց վանքն :
Կրտի վանք, Զորրորդ Հայոց, յարեւելից կուսէ կայ :
Անձևացեաց վանքն՝ որ յանուն Սրբոյն Անանեայ, որ է մերձ ի Բեդղեհէմ :
Եւ ի ներս ի քաղաքն՝ Արշակունեաց վանքն, ի սուրբ Պրոպատիկէ կողմանն :
Գաղաւունի վանքն որ յանուն Սուրբ Հռիփսիմէի և Գայեանէ, ի մէջ քա— ղաքին դրանն Յարութեան :
Կամսարականաց վանքն՝ զոր Արշակունեաց կոչեն, որ յանուն Սրբոյն Գրիգորի Լուսաւորչին :
Ամատունեաց վանքն, Սուրբ Սիոնի կողմն է :
Այլ վանքն Ամատունեաց, որ Հաւատաւորքն բնակեին ի կողմն Սիոնի :
Մամիկոնէից վանքն յանուն Սուրբ Կարապետին, ի նոյն կողմն :
Զորս վանք այլ ի Սելովմայ կողմն կայ :
Կարնացոց վանքն, զոր Սմբատ Բագրատունեաց է շինեալ :
Սահառունեաց վանքն, ի նոյն կողման է, զոր Քարուվանք կոչեն, որ է Տեառնեղբօրն՝ զոր ընկալաւ վէմն :
Պալունեաց վանքն, որ է ի կողմն Գալիլեայ լերին :
Այլ Անձևացեաց վանքն, կայ ի նոյն կողման :
Ջաղակունեաց վանքն ի նոյն կողման է, զոր այժմ Տաճիկք ունին :
Սուրբ Քառասնից վանքն, ի նոյն կողմանն կայ :
Կատայեցոց (Կոտայեցւոց?) վանքն, ի կողմն Ձիթենեաց լերին, յորում գ ինն երանութիւնս՝ ուսոյց (Քրիստոս) աշակէրտացն :
Վարաժ(ու)նեաց վանքն, ի նոյն կողմն տաճարին Սողոմոնի :
Վանանդացէաց վանքն, ի նոյն կողմն :
Ջատեցացն՝ ի նոյն կողմն :
Մոկաց վանքն՝ ի կողմն Գեթսեմանի :
Քաջբերունեաց վանքն, ի կողմն Գալիլեայ լերին :
Սահառունեաց վանքն՝ ի նոյն կողմն է :
Մաղազեաց վանքն, որ այժմ Հոռոմն ունի :
Սուրբ Յոհաննու վանքն, ի դրանն Յարութեան, որ այժմ Վրացիք ունին :
Կողայ վանքն՝ ի նոյն կողմն, զոր այժմ Հոռոմն ունի :
Սպանդունեաց վանքն :
Աշամունեաց վանքն՝ աւերած է :
Արեւելից կուսէ այլ վանք Հայոց :
Դերջանայ վանք :

Սիւնեաց վանքն յարեւելից կուսէ :

Այլ վանք Սիւնեաց ի նոյն կողմն :

Այլ վանք Սիւնեաց ի Ձորն Սաբայի :

Չորրորդ վանք Սիւնեաց, ի Ձորն Յովսափաթու :

Հինգերորդ վանք Սիւնեաց՝ զոր Տաճիկք ունին :

Բատրոյ վանքն որ յանուն Սուրբ Աստուածածնի, որ առ աշտարակին Դաւթի է :

Կաղանդուաց վանքն, ի նոյն կողման է :

Սուրբ Գրիգոր Ամարասայ վանքն :

Արցախայ վանքն, ի Հարաւակողմն :

Այլ երեք վանք Աղուանից, զոր այժմ Տաճիկք (Արաբացիք) ունին :

Այլ երեք վանք ի մէջ քաղաքին Երուսաղեմի :

Տաշրացւոց վանք՝ որ յանուն Սուրբ Գէորգայ, Արշակունեաց շինեալ :

Եւ այլ չորս վանք մեծամեծք ի Մամիկոնէից շինեալ :

Ամենայն բովանդակ եօթանասուն վանք շինեալ եղև յիշխանաց Հայոց ի սուրբ քաղաքն յԵրուսաղէմ, ի տեղիս տնօրինականացն Քրիստոսի և յայլ աստուածակոխ տեղիսն : Եւ զմեծամեծ եկեղեցիքն, զԳողգոթա, զԾնունդն, զՍուրբ Յակոբն, զՀրեշտակապետն, և զՓրկիչն, զՎերնատունն և զՀամբարձումն, զՋառերն և զԽաչ գիւտն, զԽորանն Լուսաւորչին, և զաստուածընկալ Գերեզմանն, շինեալ եղև ի Թաղաւորէն Տրդատայ և ի Սրբոյն Գրիգոր Լուսաւորչէ :

Եւ այս ամենայն վանորայքս յԵրուսաղէմ ի Սուրբ Լուսաւորչէն Հաստատեցան. բայց յոլովս ի Ներսիսէ, զոր Հրամայեաց շինել ի պատճառս աղօթից ի փրկութիւն Հայոց : Զոր Հայրապետացն տեղւոյն յետոյ ի նախանձ շարժեալ՝ խոնդարեցին զամենայն կարգ վանորէիցն. վասն որոյ իշխանացն Հայոց եօթն կենդինարս տուեալ Թագաւորին Յուստինիանոսի, որ լինի 70,000 դաՀեկան, Թափեցին յիշխանութենէ Հայրապետացն զամենայն Հայ վանորայսն, եթէ արանց վանք, եթէ կանանց վանք, եթէ միանձանց խրճիթ, անդէն զինքեանս առնելով իշխեցողս : Ապա յետոյ անփոյթ արարեալ իշխանացն Հայոց և կաթողիկոսացն, որպէս և զայլ մեծամեծս ի պատուիրանացն անՀոգ առնեն, և վանականք որ յԵրուսաղէմ՝ ծոյլ և Հեղգ եղեն, նոցայն տապալեալ քանդեցան : Իսկ որք պիտանիք և ժիրք և աստուածաՀաճոյ վարուք՝ զիւրեանցն պաՀեցին սաՀման Հաւատոյ և վարուց, նոցայն դեռ ևս չէն են և Հաստատուն : Եւ զյոլով վանորէիցն մերոց՝ յորժամ առաջնորդք վախճանէին և ոչ լինէր ոք Հոգեբարձու՝ որ զայլ ոք կարգէր առաջնորդ Հայոց, ապա աճապարէին պատրիարգունք Երուսաղեմի և Հոռոմի : Եւ դարձեալ եւլին ինքեանք Հայ վանականքն, ի ծանրութենէ Հարկաց Տաճկացն ճողոպրել կամելով, և զայլ իւրեանց վաներն որ ընդ ձեռամբ էր՝ ընդ պարսպօք քաղաքին՝ կանանց վանքեր արարին և

*սարկաւագուհիս կարգեցին, զի անհարկ լիցին և ազատ, որպէս և զայլ
կանանց վաներն ։ Եւ ինքեանք վանականքն արտաքոյ քաղաքին ելին յայլ
տեղիս. և փոխեալ զանուանս՝ զաւառացն և ազատացն ազգացն անուանեցին
(յայլոց) անուանս, թերեւս ի նոցանէն գտցեն օգնութիւն և ողորմութիւն ։*

*Արդ, բազումք յԵգիպտոս և յԱղեքսանդրիա և ի Թեբայիդ և ի լեառն
Սինէական կային մենաստանք Հայոց. նա և ի սուրբ լեառն Թաբօր, և ի
յեզր ծովուն Տիբէրայ և յայլ սահմանս Պաղեստինոյ. զոր յոլովս իմովին իսկ
աչօք տեսեալ, զամս բազումս կայի լինելով յաշխարհին յայնմիկ. և ամենայն
աստուածաշունչ և հոգեպատում պատուիրանք անպակաս գոյր ի Հայկեան
լեզուս, յամենայն մենաստանս Երուսաղեմի և որ նովաւ շուրջ զԵրուսաղեմաւ ։*

*Երանելոյն Անաստասայ Հայոց վարդապետի՝ գրեալ զանուանս վանորէիցն
Երուսաղեմի, ի խնդրոյ իշխանին Համազասպայ Կամսարականի Պալհաւունոյ,
որ կամէր գնալ յԵրուսաղէմ, որ և գնաց իսկ և արժանացաւ աստուածակոխ
սուրբ տեղեացն, ընդ որս շրջեցաւ Տէրն Յիսուս Քրիստոս ի մարդանալն
իւրում. և ի Հայրապետացն Երուսաղեմի թափեաց զՀայոց վանորայսն, որք
կամէին յեղափոխել զկարգս նոցա և զհաւատս՝ ըստ Յոբնաղի քարոզութեան ։
Այլ և յետոյ բազում նեղութիւնս և տանջանս կրեցին Հարքն Հայոց և վա—
նորայքն ի պատրիարգացն Հոռոմոց և այլոց որ զկնի նոցա նստան,
սակս հաւանելոյ չորրորդ ժողովոյն Քաղկեդոնի և խոստովանութեան երկու
բնութեանց ։ Եւ միաբան ժողովեալ ամենայն Հարքն և առաջնորդք մենա—
ստանացն և խըրճըլթաւոր միայնակեացքն, անձինք իբրև հինգ հարիւր, գրեցին
առ երանելի կաթողիկոսն Յոհան և առ այլ աթոռակալսն, եթէ զի՞նչ պարտ
իցէ առնել, հաւանե՞լ նոցա և ունել զտեղի բնակութեան իւրեանց, և թէ՝
թողուլ և ելանել անտի. զի հրաման թագաւորին խստանայր ի վերայ սրբոյ
քաղաքին և Հայրապետացն, զի մի՛ բնակեսցեն անդր ի Հայոց կրօնաւորաց
և Յակոբիկ Ասորի կամ յԵգիպտացւոցն. այլ միայն որք ողջ ունին զհաւատս
թագաւորին և զՅոբնաղի սահմանադրութիւնն ։ Եւ գրեաց կաթողիկոսն
Հայոց, թէ վասն հաւատոյ մասին մի՛ հնազանդիք դոցա, այլ թողէք և արտաքս
գնացէք ի քաղաքէ այտի ։ Եւ բազումք թողին զմենաստանս իւրեանց և
զինչս և ի բաց ղնացին. և այլք բնակեցան ի Կեսարիա, և այլք չոգան յԵգիպտոս,
և բազումք ի տեղւոջէ իւրեանց ոչ գնացին. այլ համբերեցին զանից և աւա—
րառութեանց և նեղութեանց ի Հայրապետացն Երուսաղեմի, մինչև տիրեցին
Տաճիկք աշխարհին Պաղեստինոյ և Երուսաղեմի. և այնուհետև ոչ համարձա—
կեցան բռնադատել զոք Հայրապետքն, զի քայքայեցան ի ձեռաց Իսմայե—
լացւոցն պատրիարգունքն և գերեցան, և հանգիստ առին Հայք և Ասորիք ։
Իսկ յետոյ ի ծանրութենէ հարկացն նեղացան և յաւերանացն երկրին Հայոց.
զի ոչ բերէին զմուտս գեղարեաց զոր պարգևեալ էին թագաւորք և իշխանքն
Հայոց. և նոցա ոչ կարացեալ համբերել՝ թողին զտեղիս իւրեանց. և ԺԵ*

վանք միայն մնացին. և կէսք ի լերին Ջիթենեաց և այլք մերձ ի Բեթղեհէմ, և Սիւնական կրօնաւորք, և ի յեզր սուրբ գետոյն Յորդանանու, և ի լերինն Փորձութեան, յԱնապատ Փրկչին, և ի Թաբօրական լեառն, և ի Հերմոն՝ Հանդէպ Թաբօրայ. և այլևս ի նոյն կողմանս Տիբերական ծովուն, յայնմ կողմանէ ուր գեօթն նկանակն եւ (Քրիստոս) Հինգհարիւրոցն : Եւ այսոցիկ այսպէս եղելոց :

Ի յերկիրն Հոռոմոց Գաղատիա, որ մականուն կոչի Անգուրիա, ի Լուսաւորչին Գրիգորի յանուն եկեղեցի՝ գտաք գիրք, յորում գրեալ էր դրուատս այս. որ Անաստաս անուամբ վարդապետ Հայոց գնացեալ էր յԵրուսաղէմ, և ականատես եղեալ վանորէիցն. և չեն ամենայն վանորայքն Հայոց որ յԵրուսաղէմ՝ եօթա–նասուն վանք. և գրեալ զամենայն և բերեալ ի Ծոփաց գաւառն, որ այժմ կոչի Ջմչկածակ. և մեր գտեալ զայս և օրինակեալ զամենայն կարգաւ :

K. The Gregorid Bishops

i. *Armenian version* [28]

ԾԻ … Եւ այսպէս ընդ ամենայն երկիրն Հայոց՝ի ծագաց մինչև ի ծագս ձգէր տարածանէր զմշակութիւն քարոզութեանն և աւետարանութեանն. ի Սա–տաղացւոց քաղաքէն մինչև առ աշխարհաւն Խաղտեաց, մինչև առ Կաղարջօք, մինչ իսպառ ի սահմանս Մասքթաց, մինչև ի դրունս Ալանաց, մինչ ի սահմանս Կասպից, ի Փայտակարան քաղաք արքայութեանն Հայոց. և յԱմդացւոց քաղաքէն մինչև առ Մծբին քաղաքաւ, քերէր առ սահմանօքն Ասորոց, առ Նոր Շիրական երկրաւն, և առ Կորդւօք մինչև յամուր երկիրն Մարաց, մինչև առ տամբն Մահքրտան իշխանին, մինչև յԱտրպատական ձգէր տարածանէր զաւետարանութիւնն իւր :

Զամենայն ժամանակս կենաց իւրոց, զամառն և զձմեռն զտիւ և զգիշեր՝ անվեհեր առանց յապաղելոյ իւրով իսկ աւտարանական և ողջոյնապատում գնացիւքն, առաջի թագաւորաց և իշխանաց և ամենայն հեթանոսաց՝ ան–ընդդիմակաց ի հակառակորդաց զամենափրկչին անունն Յիսուսի կրեաց, և զամենայն ոգի աստուածազգեստս և ոգէզէնս վառեաց : …

ԾԻԱ … Որ յաշտիճան եպիսկոպութեանն էին արժանի կալոյ, առեալ ձեռնադրութիւն ի նմանէ. որ առաջնոյն Աղբիանոս անուն, որ ապա կողմանցն եփրատական գետոյն լինէր վերակացու. երկրորդին՝ Եւտաղիոս, որ ի կողմանս վայրացն Բասենոյ կացեալ լինէր հովիւ. երրորդին՝ Բասոս. չորրորդն՝ Մովսէս,

[28] *Agat'.*, pp. 621-624, 630.

Հինգերորդն՝ Եւսեբիոս, վեցերորդն՝ Յոհաննէս, եօթներորդն՝ Ագապէս, ութերորդն՝ Արտիթէս, իններորդն՝ Արսուկէս, տասներորդն՝ Անտիոքէս, մետասաներորդն՝ Տիրիկէս, երկոտասաներորդն՝ Կիւրակոս ։ Այսք՝ որ յորդւոցն քրմացն ընտրեցան լինել եպիսկոպոսք կողմանց կողմանց, աճեցուսանել զքարոզութիւն ։ Եւ զայլոց անուանս թէ և կամիցի ոք, ոչ կարասցէ շարժել ։

Եւ զԱղբիանոս զայր ճշմարիտ և աստուածասէր վերակացու թողոյր արքունական դրանն բանակին, և ինքն ընդ ժամանակս ժամանակս ի լերինս ելանէր. որ և ինքեամբ իւրով անձամբ իսկ օրինակ ցուցանէր ։ …

ԾԻԳ ՅԱՅՏՆՄ ժամանակի երանելի ցանկալի և անպայման սքանչելի լինէր երկիրս Հայոց. … սա [Գրիգոր] եկեալ հասեալ երևէալ՝ Հայրաբարբառ Հայերէնախօս գտաւ ։

Արդ ըստ գաւառաց գաւառաց երթեալ ընտրէր անձին իւրում կայս հանգստեան յանապատ տեղիս և անդ բնակէր, և յանապատից լուսաւորէր զամենեսեան ։

Եւ բազմայոյց կացոյց տեսուչս եպիսկոպոսս յամենայն գաւառս Հայոց իշխանութեանն իւրոյ. և որ եպիսկոպոսացն յաշտիճան ձեռնադրեցան ի նմանէ, աւելի քան զչորեքհարիւր եպիսկոպոսս, որք կացին տեսուչս տեղեաց տեղեաց ։ Իսկ զկարգս երիցանց և կամ սարկաւագաց կամ անագանոսաց, և որ այլ ևս պաշտօն Տեառն կացին, անթիւք էին ի բազմութենէ ։

ii. *Greek version* [29]

152. ... καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου ἕως ἄκρων διέτεινε τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος, ἀπὸ Σαταλῶν τῆς πόλεως μέχρι τῆς χώρας Χάλτων καὶ Καλαρσῶν, ἕως ὁρίων Μασαχουτῶν Οὔννων καὶ πυλῶν Κασπίων καὶ μερῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ Φατακαρανῆς πόλεως Ἀρμενίας βασιλέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν πόλεως μέχρι Νισίβεως παρὰ τὰ ὅρια τῆς Συρίας ἕως Νορσιράκων γῆς καὶ Κορδουϊτῶν καὶ τῆς ὀχυρωτάτης χώρας τῶν Μήδων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου Μαχούρτων τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ μέχρι Ἀτραπατακάν, ἥτις καλεῖται πυροσχωρία κατὰ τὴν περσικὴν γλῶτταν, ἐξέτεινε τὸ εὐαγγελικον κήρυγμα, θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ὁ ἄοκνος ἐν τῇ ἀποστολικῇ αὐτοῦ πορείᾳ καὶ εἰρηνοφόρῳ βαδίσματι ἐπὶ βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀφόβως τὸ πανσωτήριον ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ στόματος φέρων, πᾶσαν ψυχὴν χριστοφόρον εἰργάσατο. ... .

153. ... ἐξ ὧν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν τιμήν τινες ἀξιωθέντες παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειροτονοῦται. ὁ πρῶτος Ἀλβῖνος καλούμενος, ὅστις

[29] *Ag*, pp. 77-80.

τοῖς μέρεσιν Εὐφράτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπέστη διδάσκαλος. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος Εὐθάλιος, τοῖς μέρεσι Βασηνῶν κατασταθεὶς ποιμήν. ὁ τρίτος Βάσσος, ὁ τέταρτος Μωϋσῆς, ὁ πέμπτος Εὐσέβιος, ὁ ἕκτος Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἕβδομος Ἀγάπιος, ὁ ὄγδοος Ἄρτιος, ὁ ἔννατος Ἀρσύκης, ὁ δέκατος Ἀντίοχος. αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων υἱῶν ἐξελέχθησαν γενέσθαι ἐπίσκοποι ἐν διαφόροις μέρεσιν, ὥστε εἰς αὔξησιν φέρειν τὸ κήρυγμα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὰ ὀνόματα δυσθεώρητα, εἰ καὶ βουληθείη τις ἐξειπεῖν.

154. τὸν δὲ Ἀλβῖνον, ἄνδρα ἀληθινὸν καὶ θεοφιλέστατον, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστάτην ἔταξεν, καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀβάτοις ὄρεσιν ἦγεν σχολήν, τύπος ἐν παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι γινόμενος. ... .

157. κατὰ καιροὺς δὲ ἐφιστάμενός τισι τόποις, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν προέτρεπεν ἀκοιμήτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι. τότε οὖν ποθεινοτάτη καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη καὶ ὑπερκαλλίστη ἐγεγόνει ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀρμενίας. ... [Γρηγόριος] εἰς μέσον παρελθών, τὸ ζωοποιὸν κήρυγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπειράθη τῇ τῶν Ἀρμενίων γλώττῃ. τὴν θεοσέβειαν πάντας ἐδίδαξεν. καὶ ἐν πάσαις χώραις πορευόμενος ἐπελέξατο ἑαυτῷ εἰς κατοίκησιν ἐρήμους τόπους, κἀκεῖσε ᾤκει· ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρημιῶν πάντας εἶναι ἐπισκόπους πάσαις ταῖς πατρίσιν τῆς Ἀρμενίων χώρας. οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντες καὶ κατασταθέντες πλείους ἢ τετρακόσιοι ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν, οἱ καὶ διαφόροις τόποις ἐπεσκόπησαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασταθέντων τὸν ἀριθμον ὑπερβαίνει. ... .

iii. *Greek Life of Saint Gregory* [30]

170. Χειροτονήσας δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν χώραν, ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβυτέρους. Καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστειανῶν χώρας Εἰρήναρχον ὀνόματι πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Εἰρήναρχος σεμνότατος ἦν ἐν σχήματι καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἐπαινετῇ, ἔχων καὶ πεῖραν πολλὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν· οὗτος καὶ ἐν τῇ εὑρέσει τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων τῶν Τεσσαράκοντα διάκονος ἦν τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἐπισκόπου ὄντος τῆς Σεβαστείας, ἀνὴρ πολιᾷ κεκοσμημένος. Εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν τῶν Λαζῶν,

[30] Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 101-104.

Σωφρόνιον καὶ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὄντα καππαδόκην, καὶ αὐτὸν συνελθόντα τῷ ἁγίῳ· ὃν πεποίηκεν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ἀπέστειλεν. Εἰς δὲ Ἀλβανίαν Θωμᾶν ὅσιον ἄνδρα, ἐκ τῆς τῶν Σαταλέων τῆς μικρᾶς πόλεως. Οὗτοι γὰρ πλεῖστοι συνῆλθον αὐτῷ, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς.

171. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον ἐπί τε τὴν Ἰνγιληνὴν καὶ Ἀρζιανηνὴν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Τζοφενὴν καὶ τὴν μικρὴν Τζοφενὴν καὶ Ἀσθιανενήν, Συνίους καὶ Ἀρτζενίους καὶ εἰς τὴν Μοκασῶν χώραν καὶ Μαρ[δ]πετακάν, οὕτω ἐν πάσαις ἀρχαῖς καὶ πατρίσιν προβαλλόμενος ἐπισκόπους ἀπέλυεν ἅμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν. Βασιλεῖς καὶ τοπάρχαι μετὰ πλείστης χαρᾶς ἕκαστος ἐπείγετο ἅμα τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἱερεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις χώραις, ἀνεγεῖραι ἐκκλησίας, κτίσαι δὲ καὶ μαρτύρια.

172. Ἔσπευδεν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας κατατάξαι ἐπισκόπους, Ἀλβιανὸν μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ Βαγραυανδῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρσινον ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντας, ὅστις ἐγεγόνει μὲν πρώην ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πίστιν καὶ γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν μεγίστῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ σεμνότητι ἠξιοῦτο τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου. Εὐθάλιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βασιανὴν ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπίσκοπον. Βάσσιον δὲ ἐπὶ Κώτων. Μωσῆν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἐκλετζενὴν καὶ Δερζενήν. Εὐσέβιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Δαρανάλεως χώραν. Ἰωάννην δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Καρανῖτιν. Ἀγάπιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσπέρτιν ἅμα τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῆς χώρας τῷ ἀσπαραπέτῃ. Ἄλβιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσπαρα[πε]τικον οἶκον ἔνθα ἀνακέκτη[ν]το οἱ γένους τῶν Μα[μα]κονιανῶν· οὗτοι δὲ ἀεὶ συνῆσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτῶν γεν[ε]άρχου τοῦ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀσπαραπέτου· διὸ καὶ Ἄλβιον ἀεὶ συνεῖναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπέταττεν ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον ἀναπληρῶσαι ἔν τε τῇ συνεχεῖ προσφωνήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ· ἐν πάσῃ γὰρ παιδείᾳ ἐκεκόσμητο ἔν τε ῥωμαϊκῇ καὶ ἑλληνικῇ, μεγίστην μύησιν ἔχων καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν· ἐπισκόπει δὲ καὶ Ταραυνῶν καὶ Ταιόσων. Ἀρτιθὰν δὲ χειροτονήσας ἐπίσκοπον, ἀπέστειλεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλχαζὰν ἅμα τῷ Χορχορούνιος γενεάρχῃ. Ἀρσουκάν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Σιράκων. Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κορδούνων χώρα[ν]. Τιρίκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐανάνδων καὶ Ἀβηλιενὴν καὶ Γαβηλινήν. Ἕτερον δὲ Κυριακὸν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀρσαμουνίος. Καὶ ἑτέρους πλείστους χωρῶν τε καὶ ἐθνῶν εἴς τε ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ χωρεπισκοπὴν ἐξαπέστειλεν δυναμένους διδάξαι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.

173. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἅγιος ... . Πάντα γὰρ πληρώσας καὶ ἐνιδρύσας τῇ πίστει τῶν χριστιανῶν ἅπαντας, Ἄλβιον τὸν ὅσιον καταλελοιπὼς

ἐν ἑκάστῳ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκπληροῖν τόπον, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χώραν ἐπισκόπους μετῄει συνεχῶς ἐφορῶν καὶ θεμελιῶν αὐτούς. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ᾤκει ἐν σπηλαίῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ Μαριάνατ, ἐν χώρᾳ Δαρανάλεως, ἐκδεδωκὼς ἑαυτὸν εὐχῇ καὶ δάκρυσιν καὶ νηστείαις.

iv. *Arabic version* [31]

158. Tum praeparavit episcopos sanctus Gregorius, hic qui catholicus totius Armeniae factus est, eosque dimittebat in totam terram Armeniae et in Georgiam (ğiğ'n) et in regionem drzqy't et in Albanos (ll'nyn). Et assumpsit hominem georgianum (ğrğny) ex illis qui cum ipso Sebastea venerant, nomine 'byrbzẖw' (*lege* Irenarchum) eumque metropolitam fecit et misit eum ut episcopos constitueret super totam Georgiam (ğrğ'n); erat autem pulcher vitae modo, perfectus, doctus Scripturarum Ecclesiae, diaconusque erat et praesens cum ossa Quadraginta Martyrum invenerunt, atque ornatus canitie erat; propterea eum in hunc gradum constituit. Et misit in regionem Abchazorum ('bẖ'z) Sophronium (sfrwn) qui presbyter erat a Cappadocia advenitque cum sancto Gregorio, eumque episcopum fecit et misit. Et misit in regionem Albanorum ('ll'nyn) Thomam, hominem electum, eratque e civitate Satala (ṣ'ṭ'l'wn) parva. Hi autem erant ex illis qui cum eo venerant et docti erant Scripturarum sanctarum.

159. Et sicut prius fecerat, misit ad regionem 'lğylnyn et ad 'bẖ'z et ad magnam zwf'nyn et ad zwf'nyn parvam et ad 'sṯy'nyn et ad swynws (*sic, lege* swnyws) et ad mqswn et ad mrẓnṭ'q'n et ita ad omnem locum quem praefecti ei accomodabant, episcoposque cum praefectis regionum mittebat. Illi autem principes et potentes et praefecti gentium multa cum laetitia in regiones suas ibant cum episcopo suo qui eis praefectus erat catervaque sacerdotum ut ecclesias in nomina martyrum constituerent.

160. Et festinavit etiam in reliquas regiones Armeniae episcopos mittere. Misit Albianum ('lby'nwn) in regionem Bagravand (b'ġrw'nḍwn) et ad omnes incolas finium Euphratis qui antea idolis ministrabant, sed doctrina sua eos omnes ad cognitionem Dei convertit, nam dignus erat qui in throno discipulorum sederet. Et misit Euthalium

[31] Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 101-104 = Marr, *Christianization*, pp. 136-138.

('wt'lywn) in regionem bsy'nyn, episcopum super eam. Et misit Bassum (bṣwn) episcopum super byqwġwn. Et misit Moysem (mwsy) episcopum super regionem 'yb'klyrtyn et d̠rd̠nyn. Et misit Eusebium ('ws'byws) super regionem d̠'r'n'l'ws. Et misit Iohannem episcopum super regionem qw'nytyn. Et misit Amatum episcopum super regionem swsb'rtyn; qui abiit cum praefecto regionis dicto 'sb'ta. Et misit Albium ('lbywn) episcopum super regionem 'ṣbr'b't-icam et mqwny'nwn, qui ex familiaribus regis erant et 'ṣbr'b'tw' cum praefecto eorum qui patricius dicitur; beatus autem Gregorius praecepit Albio ('lbywn) episcopo et dixit ei : « Ne discesseris a patricio regionemque imple praedicatione »; atque hoc (fecit) quia episcopus eruditus erat in variis scientiis, romana et pagana, validusque erat ad interpretationem sanctarum Scripturarum; et sub eius potestate erant ṭ'rwn et bswn. Atque Artithem ('rṭyt̠'n) episcopum fecit eumque ad regionem mlẖ'zwn misit cum principe eorum ǧ'n'ršy. Et fecit Arsukan ('rṣwq'n) episcopum eumque ad sr'ǧ regionem misit. Antiochum ('ntywẖn) etiam episcopum fecit eumque ad regionem qrd̠lt misit. Tiricium (tryqywn) quoque episcopum fecit eumque ad regionem Atrpatakan ('ṭr'b't'qn) misit. Cyriacum (qry'qs) quoque episcopum fecit eumque ad regionem 'rṣ'mwnyws misit. Et misit etiam episcopos nonnullos ad reliquas regiones et gentes, et ita etiam monitores misit validos ad docendum verbum veritatis.

161. Sanctus vero Gregorius .... Cum vero omnia absolvit, universosque in religione christiana confirmavit, sanctum Albium ('lbywn) omnibus rebus ad inquisitionem regiones (pertinentibus) praefecit. Et ita et omnes regiones et episcopos omni tempore fundabat docendo fidem in qua constituti erant. Post haec autem omnia, abiit et habitavit in spelunca m'ny'rṭ nominata, in regione d̠'r'n'l'ws, ut quietem inveniret a curis mundi, atque seipsum ieiunio et orationi et fletui dedidit [32].

[32] On the problems of the versions of "Agat'angełos" in general, *see above* Appendix III-D, n. 11. On the bishops ordained by St. Gregory, *see* Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 321-323, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 458-460, n. 98. *See also above* Chapter XII, nn. 10-11, 14-16b.

v. *Step'annos Orbelean* [33]

Ե. … Իսկ մինչ այս այսպէս կարգեցաւ. ապա կարգէ և սուրբ Գրիգոր զեկեղեցական դասս, զգահ և զպատիւ եպիսկոպոսացն. և հրամայէ բազմել ընդ ինքեան աթոռով և ոսկենկար բարձու 36 եպիսկոպոսաց՝ 18 յաջմէ և 18 յահեկէ. յաջմէ առջինն Հարքայ եպիսկոպոսն. և յահեկէ առաջինն Բասենոյ, իսկ զՍիւնին յաջ կողմանն յեօթներորդ գահուն նստուցանէ. և ցուցանէ զայս Սամուէլ Կամրջաձորեցի :

vi. *Uχtanēs Urhaeçi* [34]

Կթ. … Եւ Եպիսկոպոսք՝ որ ձեռնադրեցան ի նմանէ՝ աւելի քան զչորեք հարիւր Եպիսկոպոս՝ տեսուչք տեղեաց տեղեաց :

Հ. Արդ յայսմ վայրի զաթոռակալս շարադրեցից և յայտ արարից զիւրաքանչիւր գահս՝ որպէս Լուսաւորչին մերոյ սրբոյն Գրիգորի է կարգեալ և եդեալ զսեփհական աթոռընկալ Եպիսկոպոսացն զկարգս. առաջին՝ Հարքայ Եպիսկոպոսն, երկրորդն՝ Ոստան Եպիսկոպոսն, երորդն՝ Տայոց Եպիսկոպոսն, չորորդն՝ Մարդաղոյ, հինգերորդն՝ Արշամունեաց, վեցերորդն՝ Արծրունեաց, եւթներորդն՝ Սիւնեաց, ութերորդն՝ Ռշտունեաց, իններորդն՝ Մոկաց, տասներորդն՝ Ամատունեաց, մետասաներորդն՝ Բասենոյ, երկոտասաներորդն՝ Մամիկոնէից, երեքտասաներորդն՝ Բագրևանդայ, չորեքտասաներորդն՝ Խորխոռունեաց, հինգետասաներորդն՝ Վանանդայ, վեշտասաներորդն՝ Ապահունեաց, եւթնևտասաներորդն՝ Արշարունեաց, ութնեւ տասաներորդն՝ Գնունեաց, իննևտասաներորդն՝ Գողթան, քսաներորդն՝ Գարդմանայ, քսանևմինն՝ Ակէոյ, քսան և երկուսն՝ Բաժունեաց, քսան և երեքն՝ Երուտակաց, քսան և չորսն՝ Ասորեաց, քսան և հինգն՝ Անձևացեաց, քսան և վեցն՝ Պալունեաց, քսան և եւթն՝ Մեհնունեաց, քսան և ութն՝ Ելոյ, քսան և ինն՝ Ջաբնհանից, երեսունն՝ Միւսասրեաց : Այս երեսուն Եպիսկոպոսք որք աթոռակալութեամբ ընկալան ձեռնադրութիւն ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ և այլ ևս երեք հարիւր և եւթանասուն Եպիսկոպոսք. որ և նոքա կարգեցան ի տեղիս տեղիս տեսուչք և Առաջնորդք յիւրաքանչիւր գաւառս ի փառս Աստուծոյ [35] *:*

33 *Steph. Orb.*, I, pp. 64-65.

34 *Uχtanēs*, I, pp. 99-100.

35 On the bishops ordained by St. Gregory, *see above* n. 32. On *Uχtanēs*, *see above* Chapter XII, nn. 8, 12.

L. ARMENIAN CONCILIAR LISTS

i. *Council of A.D. 450*

a. Łazar P'arpeçi [36]

ԻԳ ... Ժողովեցան այնուհետև ըստ հրամանի տանուտերացն Հայոց սուրբ եպիսկոպոսք ըստ գաւառաց աշխարհին Հայոց, և պատուական երիցունք և վանականք, որք են այսորիկ. Սուրբն Յովսէփ, որ թէպէտ և երէց էր ըստ ձեռնադրութեան, այլ զկաթուղիկոսութեան Հայոց զաթոռն ունէր ի ժամանակին. Տէր Անանիա Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Մուշէ Արծրունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Սահակ Տարօնոյ եպիսկոպոս, Սուրբն Սահակ Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Մելիտէ Մանձկերտոյ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Եզնիկ Բագրևանդեայ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Սուրմակ Բզնունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Թաթիկ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Երեմիա Մարդաստանի եպիոպոս, Տէր Գադ Վանանդեայ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Բասիլ Մոկաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Եղդայր Անձևացեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Տաճատ Տայոց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Քասուն Տարբերունոյ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Ջաւէն Մանանաղւոյ եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Եղիշէ Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Տէր Երեմիա Ապահունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Այսոքիկ ամենեքեան եպիսկոպոսքս, և ի պատուական երիցանց՝ սուրբն Ղևոնդ, և Խորէն ի Մրենեայ, և Դաւիթ, և այլ պատուական երիցունք, և աւագ վանականք բազումք, հանդերձ սքանչելի և հրեշտակակրօն տերամբն Աղանաւ, որ էր յազգէն Արծրունեած, Եւ որք ի նախարարացն էին ժողովեալք, տէրն Սիւնեաց Վասակ, և տէրն Արծրու— նեաց Ներշապուհ, Վրիվ Մաղխազ, տէրն Մամիկոնէից և սպարապետն Հայոց Վարդանն, տէրն Վահևունեաց Գիւտ, տէրն Մոկաց Արտակ, տէրն Անձևացեաց Շմաւոն, տէրն Ապահունեաց Մանէճ, տէրն Վանանդեայ Առաւան, տէրն Արշարունեաց Արշաւիր, տէրն Ամատունեաց Վահան, տէրն Գնունեաց Ատոմ, տէրն Պալունեաց Վարազշապուհ, տէրն Աշոցայ Հրահատ, տէրն Դիմաքսենից Հմայակ, տէրն Աբեղենից Գազրիկ, տէրն Առաւեղենից Փափագ, Վրէն Ջիւնական :

Այսոքիկ ամենեքեան աւագ տանուտեարք, հանդերձ աւագ սեպհօք և բարեպաշտ եպիսկոպոսօք, և աւագ քահանայիւք և վանականօք, պատասխանի հրովարտակին գրէին առ Թագաւորն Յազկերտ և առ ամենայն աւագանին Դրանն՝ այսպէս :

[36] *ŁP'*, pp. 133-135.

b. Ełišē [37]

ԱՆՈՒԱՆՔ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍԱՑՆ

որք ժողովեցան յԱյրարատեան գաւառն և արարին նամակին պատասխանի

ՅՈՎՍէՓ եպիսկոպոս Այրարատոյ.
ՍԱՀԱԿ եպիսկոպոս Տարօնոյ.
ՄԵՂԷՏ եպիսկոպոս Մանազկերտոյ.
ԵԶՆԻԿ եպիսկոպոս Բագրևանդոյ.
ՍՈՒՐՄԱԿ եպիսկոպոս Բզնունեաց.
ՏԱՃԱՏ եպիսկոպոս Տայոց.
ԹԱԹԻԿ եպիսկոպոս Բասենոյ.
ՔԱՍՈՒ եպիսկոպոս Տուրուբերանոյ.
ԵՐԵՄԻԱ եպիսկոպոս Մարդաստանի.
ԵՒՂԱՂ եպիսկոպոս Մարդոյաղւոյ.
ԱՆԱՆԻԱ եպիսկոպոս Սիւնեաց.
ՄՈՒՇԷ եպիսկոպոս Արծրունեաց.
ՍԱՀԱԿ եպիսկոկոպոսՌըշտունեաց.
ԲԱՍԻԼ եպիսկոպոս Մոկաց.
ԳԱԴ եպիսկոպոս Վանանդայ.
ԵՂԻՇԱ եպիսկոպոս Ամատունեաց.
ԵՂԲԱՅՐ եպիսկոպոս Անձաւացեաց.
ԵՐԵՄԻԱ եպիսկոպոս Ապահունեաց.

Այս ամենայն եպիսկոպոսք և բազում քորեպիսկոպոսք և պատուական երիցունք ի տեղեաց տեղեաց հանդերձ սուրբ ուխտիւ եկեղեցւոյ միաբանք և միահաւանք, միահամուռ ժողովեալք ի Թագաւորանիստ տեղին յԱրտաշատ, հաւանութեամբ մեծամեծ նախարարացն և ամենայն բազմութեամբ աշխարհին արարին նամակին պատասխանի [38] :

ii. *Council of A.D. 505* [39]

ի Մեծած Հայոց ի Բաբգենայ ի Հայոց Եպիսկոպոսապետէ, և ի նորին աթո- ռակցաց, ի Մերշապհոյ Մամիկոնից եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Ներսեսէ Մարդպետական եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Տեառնտրոյ Հարքայ եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Սամուելէ Բզնունեաց

[37] *Ełišē*, pp. 27-28.

[38] On the Council of 450 and the list of those present, *see* Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 246 sqq. and tables viii-ix.

[39] *BL*, pp. 41-47.

եպիսկոպոսէ, ··· ի Փովկասայ և ի Սամուելէ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոսաց[40] *: ի Թաթլոյ Արշարունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի յԱղանայ Խորխոռունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի յԱտատեայ Տայոց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Տաճատայ Արշամունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Դանիելէ Ռուշտունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Ցափկանէ Մոկաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Խաբբայ Արծրունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Շահէէ Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Սահակայ Պալունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Պաւղոսէ Գնունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Մովսեսէ զարիհուանի եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Դավտայ Տմորեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Դանիելէ Անձևացեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Թէմրայ Մեհնունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ. զնոյն համարձակապէս բերելով զողջոյն, յաստուածապաշտ և յուղղափառ ճգնաւորաց եկեղեցւոյ, երիցանց և վանականաց և միայնացեալ մոնազանց, և ի բարեպաշտ պետաց և իշխանաց Հայաստան աշխարհիս, որ բերեն զուղղափառ հաւատ յինքեան, Վարդ Մամիկոնեան, Սահակ Կամսարական արշարունեաց տէր, Սպանդիատ Հայոց ասպետ, Արտաշիր Հայոց մախաղ, Ջիկ վանադայ տէր, Մանդեն Ամատունեաց տէր, Տիրոտ Պալունեաց տէր, Վարազներսեհ Դաշտակարանի տէր, Վստամ Ապահունեաց տէր, Գնէլ Գնունեաց տէր, Բաշխեն Վահևունեաց տէր, Արտաշիր Սիւնեաց տէր, Ատրներսեհ Ռշտունեաց տէր, Արտաշիր Առաւեղինից տէր, և յայլ յամենայն յուղղափառ իշխանաց ի մեծաց և ի փոքունց, և որք ընդ նոցին իշխանութեամբ են : Ի սուրբ կաթուղիկէ և յառաքելական եկեղեցւոյ, որք զճշմարիտ հաւատ ունիմք, ի Հայր, և յՈրդի, և ի սուրբ Հոգին, յամենայն Հայաստան աշխարհէս, յեպիսկոպոսաց, յերիցանց, և ի վանականաց. յազատաց և ի շինականաց, առ ձեր ուղղափառ սրբութիւնդ, սիրովն Քրիստոսի ուրախանալ :*

Վասն զի ութևտասներորդ ամի Կաւատայ արքայից արքայի, մինչդեռ ես Բաբգէն Հայոց եպիսկոպոսապետ, ամենայն եպիսկոպոսաւք և վանականաւք և նախարարաւք ժողովեալ էաք յԱյրարատ գաւառ, յոստանն Հայաստան աշխարհիս ի Դուին քաղաք, ···

Եւ զայս խնդիր ճշմարիտ հաւատոյ գրեցաք և կնքեցաք : Ես Բաբգէն Հայոց Կաթուղիկոս ամենայն եպիսկոպոսաւք, իշխանաւք և նախարարաւք Հայաստան աշխարհիս : ···[41]

[40] The text seems clearly defective at this point. Not only does the printed version, *BL*, p. 41, read "...*ի Սամուելէ Բղնունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ: ի Փովկասայ եւ ի Սամուելէ Բղնունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Փովկասայ եւ ի Սամուելէ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոսաց:*" with the suspicious repetition of names, but the punctuation is curious.

[41] A translation of the greater part of this letter can be found in Ter Minassianz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, pp. 152-157, to accompany his discussion of this Council, *Ibid.*, pp. 33 sqq. *See also* Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 109, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 249-250 and table x.

iii. *Council of A.D. 555* [42]

… Եւ վասն զի եղև, վասն այնորիկ Հարկեցաք առնել զմիաբանութիւնս զայս Համաշխարական, մեք ամենայն Հայք, ի քսան և չորրորդ ամի Խոսրովու արքայից արքայի, ի սուրբ ի քառասներորդսն, ի կիւրակէի ողոգոմենին [43], *վասն չար աղանդին խուժկաց Նեստորականաց …*

Ես Ներսէս Հայոց կաթուղիկոս : Եւ Մերշապուհ Տարաւնու և Մամիկոնէից եպիսկոպոս. Գրիգոր սեպհական գնդին եպիսկոպոս : Պարգև Հարքայ եպիսկոպոս : Տիրակ Բագրևանդեայ եպիսկոպոս : Գրիգոր Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս, Ներսէս Մարդաղոյ եպիսկոպոս : Վաղոտ Արշամունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Պետրոս Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոս : Գրիգոր Արծրունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Մարկոս Բագրևանդեայ եպիսկոպոս : Մաշղոց Խորխոռունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Յոհան Ապահունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Աբդիսոյ Ասորեաց ուղղափառաց եպիսկոպոս : Յովնան Վանանդայ եպիսկոպոս : Հաւուկ Արշարունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Քրիստափոր Պալունեաց եպիսկոպոս : Յոյս Գողթան եպիսկոպոս : Թադէոս Մեհենունեաց եպիսկոպոս և ամենայն եպիսկոպոսունք Հայոց աշխարհիս : Եւ իշխանք. Համազասպ ի Գուգվառամեան ի տանէ Մամիկոնից : Գարջոյր Հայոց մաղխազ : Սամէղ յԱրդաւազդան սպարապետ : Գրիգոր ի Հմայական : Սահակ ի Վարդանեան : Աստուածատուր Վանանդայ տէր : Դատոյ ի Գարջուղեան : Գրիգոր և Վարդան ի Վասակայ : Ջաւրակ ի Գղաւոնեան : Վարազ Յոհան ի Յոհանեան : Վարդան ի Մուշեղեան : Համազասպ. Սահակ ի Հմայակեան : Գնեալ Գնունի : Վարազ Գաբեղեան : Գրիգոր Աբեղեան : Մերշապուհ ի Ճինական : Համազասպ Ջիւնականեան : Աստուածատուր Հաւենունի : Արշոտ ի Վարազտիրոցեան : Մուշեղ ի Հմայեկեան : Վրիվ յԱրտաշրան : Աստուածատուր Արշաւրեան : Սամուեղ ի Մամական : Վարդ ի Հմայական : Ներսէս ի Սամսոնեան : Վարդան Վահեւունի : Հմայեակ Վարաժնունի : Մանուեղ Սպանդունի : Վարդ և Արտաւազդ ի Մամական : Համազասպ ի Սահական : Սահակ ի Մանուեղեան : Վարդան ի Մուշեղեան : Եւ ոչ ոք արտաքոյ մնաց յաշխարհականաց ի յայս ի կամաւոր գործոյ, ի քահանայից, ի վանականաց, ի ժողովրդականաց, ի բարետոհմից և յամենայն շինականաց : Եւ բարձաք ի միջոյ զնոցա կրճիմն չար : ի լոյս խաղաղկան ոգւոյ և մարմնոյ : [44]

[42] *BL*, pp. 73-74.

[43] The printed text has here the misleading " *իւղոգոմենին* ".

[44] On the Council of 555, *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 130 sqq., and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 249-250 and table xi, *also above* Chapter XII, n. 19.

iv. *Councils of A.D. 607* [45]

ԿԱՆՈՆՔ ՈՐ ԵԴԱՆ Ի ԴՈՒՆԻ, ՄԻՆՉԴԵՌ ՄՏԱԾՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԷՐ ԺՈՂՈՎԵԼՈՑ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍԱՑՆ ԿԱՐԳԵԼ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՅԵՏ ՄԱՀՈՒԱՆՆ ՄՈՎՍԷՍԻ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍԻ ։ ԵՒ ԽԱՓԱՆԵՑԱՆ ԱՅՆՄ ԱՆԳԱՄ

… վասն որոյ ժողովեցաք եպիսկոպոսքս այս ի մայրաքաղաք եկեղեցիս Դունեայ. Թէոդորոս մարդպետական եպիսկոպոս, Յովհաննէս Արծրունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Քրիստափոր Աւինեաց եպիսկոպոս, Մանասէ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս, Աբրահամ Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Յովհաննէս Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Գրիգոր Անձևացեաց եպիսկոպոս, Սիոն Գողթան եպիսկոպոս, Ահարոն Մեհնունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Ներսէս Բոժունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Յոհանիկ Ելոյ եպիսկոպոս, Թադէոս Առնայոյ եպիսկոպոս. Եպիսկոպոսք Ծ. և Հարք և քահանայք Յ. և Ղ. կամաւք և այլոց, հաստատել սահմանս կանոնականս յաղագս այնպիսեաց, որք գան ի խոստովանութիւն զղջանալով զվնաս և զմեղս զոր գործեցին կամաւ և ակամայ, զի գիտասցեն պատրաստութեամբ գտանել անձանց փրկութիւն ի Տեառնէ ։ …

ՁԵՌՆԱՐԿ ԶՈՐ ԽՆԴՐԵԱՑ ՍՄԲԱՏ ՎՐԿԱՆ ՄԱՐԶՊԱՆ, ՑԱՅՑՔ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍՈՒՆՍ, ՈՐՔ ԴԱՐՁԵԱԼ ԺՈՂՈՎԵՑԱՆ ՆՈՐԻՆ ՀՐԱՄԱՆԱՒ Ի ԴՈՒԻՆ, ԿԱՐԳԵԼ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍ ՀԱՅՈՑ, ՅԵՏ ՄԱՀՈՒԱՆՆ ՄՈՎՍԷՍԻ, ԵՒ ԶԱՅՍ ՁԵՌՆԱՐԿ ԵՏ ՆՈՑԱ ։

Ամենագովելի և փառաւորելոյ և աստուածաշնորհ պատուվք պայծառացելոյ Տեառն Սմբատայ Վրկան մարզպանի և տերանց զինուորի, և Տեառն Գիգայ Դաշտկարանի, և վարդապետի Հայոց Շարսաղարի. Ի Մանասէէ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Քրիստափորէ Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, յԱբրահամայ Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Յովհանէսէ Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Գրիգորէ Անձևացեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Սիովնէ Գողթան եպիսկոպոսէ, ի յԱհարոնէ Մեհնունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Ներսէսէ Բոժունեաց եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Յոհանկայ Եղոյ եպիսկոպոսէ, ի Թադէոսէ Առանոյ եպիսկոպոսէ, Տերամբ ողջոյն ։

Եւթնուտասներորդ ամի Ապրուեզ Խոսրովու արքայից արքայի, յամսեանն մարերի, որպէս փառաւորութիւնդ ձեր յայս եպիսկոպոսաց՝ զոր ի վերոյդ

[45] *BL*, pp. 146-147, 149-150, 151-152.

գրեալ է. որ ի ժամուս ի Դուընի ի սուրբ եկեղեցւոջս դիպաք, ձեռնարկ խնդրեցէք վասն սուրբ և ուղղափառ Հաւատոյ, զոր մեր Հարանցն և երանելի վարդապետացն կալեալ է, և այժմ ունիմք կամաւքն Աստուծոյ : …

Եւ կնքեցաք զձեռնարկս այս, և եդաք սուրբ եկեղեցւոջս Դունայ : Ես Մանասէ Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս, իմ աթոռակցաւք Հանդերձ, որոց անուանքն ի վերոյդ յիշատակեալ են : Եւ Սմբատ Վրկան մարզպան, և տերանց զինուոր, իւր եղբարաւք Հանդերձ առաջի ամենասուրբ Երրորդութեանն, նախ սրտիւք մերովք, և ապա մատանաւք մերովք :

ՁԵՌՆԱՐԿ ԶՈՐ ԵՏՈՒՆ ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄՈՒ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍԻ Ի ՄԻԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆՆ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԻՍ ՀԱՅՈՑ, ԱՅՆՈՔԻԿ ՈՐ ԷԻՆ ԸՆԴ ԻՇԽԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՄԲ ՀՌՈՄՈՑ Ի ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐՈՒԹԵԱՆՆ ՄԱՒՐԿԱՆ

Եւթն ու տասներորդ ամի Ապերուէզ Խոսրովու արքայից արքայի, իմ Աբրահամ Հայոց կաթուղիկոսի և աթոռակցաց իմոց, Մանասէի Բասենոյ եպիսկոկոպոսի, Քրիստափորի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի, Յովանիսի Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոս, Գրիգորի Անձևացեաց եպիսկոպոսի, Սիովնի Գողթան եպիսկոպոսի, ԱՀարոնի ՄեՀնունեաց եպիսկոպոսի, Ներսէսի Բոժունեաց եպիսկոպոսի, ՅոՀանկայ՝ Էղոյ եպիսկոպոսի, Թադէոսի Առանայ եպիսկոպոսի և իշրանաց մերոց. Տեառն Սմբատայ Վրկան մարզպանի և տերանց զինուորի : Եւ Գիգա Դաշտկարանի, և վարդապետի Հայոց Շարսաղարի, և այլ իշխանաց և աշխարՀականաց և ուղղափառաց առաջի կացեալ. Թէոդորոս սեպՀական գնդին եպիսկոպոս, Ստեփանոս Բագրաւանդայ եպիսկոոպոս, Մովսէս Խոռխոռնեաց եպիսկոպոս, Քրիստափոր ԱպաՀունեաց եպիսկպոս, Ներսէս Վանանդայ եպիսկոպոս, Հանդերձ վանից երիցամբքս այսոքիւք, ԱբրաՀամ սրբոյ կաթութկեի [sic] վանից երէց, Սամուիէլ սրբոյ Հռիփսիմեի, Բաբիլաս սրբոյ ՅովՀաննու վանաց երէց, Խոսրով Աւշականու, Յաւիտեան Աղիվարդայ, Դաւիթ Երևանայ, Իսմայէլ Գառնոյ, Յունանէս Աւանի, Իսրայէլ Պտղավանից, Ջոջիկ Երևանից, ՅոՀանիկ Արտաւազդայ ապարանից, Աբաս և Որդեակ և ԱբրաՀամ Փարպիոյ, Միքայէլ Աղցից, Գիորգիս Արճոյ, Կոզմաս Ուրդայ, Մայէն միւս Արճոյ, ՅոՀանիկ Արծափաց, Սիմոն Դատաւանից, Սամոտ Բագարանի, և այլ վանից երիցամբ Հանդէրձ. եկեալ յանդիման մեր զբարեպաշտութիւն խոստովանեցին, նզովելով … զչար ժողովն Քաղկեդոնի, և զպիրծ տումարն Լևոնի, և աղաչանս մատուցանելով առաջի մեր, խառնել զինքեանս ի միաբանութիւն եկեղեցւոյ ճշմարիտ Հաւատին Քրիստոսի … [46]

[46] On the successive Councils and their problems, *see above* Chapter XII, nn. 21-25.

v. *Council of A.D. 644* [47]

Ես Ներսէս շնորհիւն Աստուծոյ նուաստ կաթողիկոս Հայոց վասն վերա— գրեալ կանոնիս ամենայն աթոռակցովք մերովք սուրբ եպիսկոպոսօք Հայոց ձեռնարկեալ կնքեցաք ըստ հրամանի և սահմանի Հոգւոյն սրբոյ և ընտրելոց նորա :

ա. *Տէր Յովհաննէս ոստան և մարդպետական եպիսկոպոս*
բ. *Տէր Ներսէս Հարքայ եպիսկոպոս*
գ. *Տէր Քրիստոսատուր Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս*
դ. *Տէր Իսրայէլ Տայոց եպիսկպոս*
ե. *Տէր Յովհաննէս Մարդաղոյ եպիսկոպոս*
զ. *Տէր Յովհան Բզնունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
է. *Տէր Գրիգոր Արշարունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ը. *Տէր Սեբէոս Բագրատունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
թ. *Տէր Գրիգոր Խորխոռունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժ. *Տէր Սիմէոն Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժա. *Տէր Իսրայէլ Վանանդայ եպիսկոպոս*
ժբ. *Տէր Թէոփիլոս Աշմունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժգ. *Տէր Ասայէլ Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժդ. *Տէր Գրիգոր Անձաւացեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժե. *Տէր Թեոդորոս Գնունեաց եպիսկոպոմ*
ժզ. *Տէր Յակովբոս Պալունեաց եպիսկոպոս*
ժէ. *Տէր Սամուէլ Մեհնունեաց եպիսկոպոս*

Այս են սուրբ ժողովոյն Հայց անուանք, որք ի Դուին ժողովեցան ի փառս ամենասուրբ Երրորդութեանն՝ Հօր և Որդւոյ և Հոգւոյն սրբոյ ամէն : [48]

vi. *Council of A.D. 726*

a. (Armenian) [49]

ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆՈՒ ԻՄԱՍՏԱՍԻՐԻ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԿԱԹՈՒՂԻԿՈՍԻ ՍԱԿՍ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՅ ՈՐ ԵՂԵՆ Ի ՀԱՅՔ

… *Արդ՝ շնորհիւ կամաց բարձրելոյն և ամենաջողակ սիրոյ Հոգւոյն սրբոյ շնորհեցաւ ինձ Յովհաննէսի կաթուղիկոսի առնել է բրորդ ժողով ի Մանազկերտ գեաւղ ի սահմանագլուխ վիճակին Հարքայ ՝բազմաւրէայ ժամանակաւ միա—*

47 *Dwin Canons*, pp. 200-202.

48 On the problematic date of the Council of 644(?), *see above* Chapter XII, nn. 20a, 26, and Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 339 sqq.

49 *BL*, pp. 220-224.

տեղայք Համաժողովք : Այս եղև ի ՃՀԵ, Թուականին Հայոց. յէ. Տրէ ամսոյ, որոյ ժողովեալ ի մի վայր յԱպահունեաց գաւառ ի գեղն Մանազկերտ, ամենայն եպիսկոպոսաց Համաբնակ խոստովանութեամբ աշխարհիս Հայոց, և առա— ջնորդութեամբ քաջին և իմաստասիրի առն փիլիսոփայի Գրիգորի Արշա— րունեաց քորեպիսկոպոսի, ժողովեալ Քրիստոսասէր տեարք եպիսկոպոսք, որք են այսոքիկ : Աղբէոս Հարքայ, Թադէոս Ոստան, Սահակ Մամիկոնենից, Յեսու Բասենոյ, Սարգիս Տայոց, Թէոդորոս Բզնունեաց, Գրիգորէս քորե— պիսկոպոս Արշարունեաց, Հանդերձ ամենայն եպիսկոպոսաւք Հայոց, քա— Հանայք և սարկաւագունք, և ուխտի մանկունք սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, որք աւգնա— կանութեամբ Հոգւոյն սրբոյ, ի մի վայր գումարեալք, Հաստատելով զհաւատս ուղղութեան տնաւրինական Բանին Աստուծոյ :

Եկին ընդ մեզ դարձեալ արք ոմանք եպիսկոպոսք Զ. ի Յակոբիկ տանէ, վասն միաբանութեան խոստովանութեան ընդ մեզ լինելոյ, որոց անուանքն են այսոքիկ. Առաջինն Կոստանդին եպիսկոպոս, Երկրորդն Մետրապաւլիտ Ուռհայ քաղաքի, Երրորդն՝ Շմաւոն Խառանու եպիսկոպոս, չորրորդն Թէոդոս Գարդմանից եպիսկոպոս, Հինգերորդն Տէր Աթանաս Նփրկետոյ եպիսկոպոս, վեցերորդն Թէոդորոս Ամասիա եպիսկոպոս : Սոքա ամենեքին Հրամանաւ արքեպիսկոպոսին Անտիոքայ եկաւորեալ եղեն առ մեզ ի միաբանեալ ժողովն, և միիաբանեալք ընդ միմեանս Հաւատով զմիութիւն խոստովանելով, կարգեցաք ճառս բազումս Հակառակ երկաբնակացն Քաղկեդոնի, …

b. (Syriac) [50]

Exemplaire de la lettre synodale que firent les Arméniens et les Syriens lorsqu'ils s'unirent

En l'an 1037 des Grecs, 135 selon le comput des Arméniens, vous êtes arrivés chez nous de la région de Syrie, sur l'ordre de Mar Athanasius, patriarche d'Antioche, près de moi Iwannês, catholicos de la Grande Arménie, vous, évêques, dont les noms sont consignés ici : Constantin d'Edesse, - Siméon de Ḥarran, - Theodorus de Germanicia, - Athanasius de Maipherqaṭ, - Siméon de Dara ; en vue de l'union entre nous et vous, c'est-à-dire entre les régions de Syrie et d'Arménie.

Selon la règle, nous avons dû vous demander de nous donner la définition de votre foi ; vous l'avez écrite et nous l'avez remise par

[50] *Mich. Syr.*, II, pp. 496-500.

écrit. Alors nous avons ordonné qu'un synode des vénérables évêques s'assemblât dans le canton d'Apahounis au village de Manavasqerd.

Nous y arrivâmes par la permission de Dieu et de l'Esprit-Saint :

Moi, Iwanês, catholicos de la Grande Arménie, et les évêques qui étaient avec moi :

1) Halphai, évêque de 'ARKIWS; - 2) Theodoros de 'ARMN; - Sahak, évêque Mamikonean; - 4) [RSQW, évêque de] Basean; - 5) Sargis, évêque de DIṬPIS(?); - 6) Theorios, de Beznounis; - 7) Theodoros, d'Ašamounis; - 8) Grigorios, d'Ašarounis; - 9) NWZWN, de 'ASIBW; - 10) Habel, d'Amatounis; - 11) David, d'Ĕrĕštounis; - 12) Iowsêp', d'Artsrounis; - 13) Grigor, de Wanand; - 14) Narkisos, de Khorkho*r*ounis; - 15) Esayi, de Golt'n; - 16) Iwanês, de Gnounis; - 17) Gorgi, de Ṛotakay; - 18) Iowsêp', de Bakratounis; - 19) Mik'ayêl, de Bagrevand; - 20) Eremia, d'Apahounis; - 21) Salomon, de MRINA; - 22) Gabriel, d'Arzôn(?); - 23) Khosrow, prêtre et docteur des Arméniens; - 24) David, de Souphrin(?); - 25) Salomon, archimandrite de Mak'enis; - 26) Raphaël, archimandrite; - 27) Siméon(?), docteur; - 28) Iwanês, chorévêque; - 29) Grigor, de Taraun; - 30) Sahak, chorévêque de MATNIS; - Sargis, évêque des Sanasnayê;

avec les autres prêtres et moines assemblés dans le synode, dont il n'est pas nécessaire d'écrire les noms, et aussi (avec) notre frère le noble, glorieux, sage Haiyan(?), fils de 'Abou Ḥakîm. ...

Pour la confirmation, le maintien, la conservation de l'union faite entre nous et vous, nous avons écrit (cette définition) et nous vous (l')avons donnée, ô nos frères nommés plus haut, représentant toute la Syrie, nous évêques, chorévêques, prêtres, plus haut désignés, représentant toute l'Arménie, devant le Dieu vivant et vivificateur de l'univers, et (devant) ses saints anges. Qu'il soit lui-même le sceau et le cachet confirmatif de la foi, c'est-à-dire de l'union entre nous et vous jusqu'à la fin du monde.

Et nous aussi, pour la certitude des choses qui ont été faites, nous avons signé et scellé de notre sceau, en confirmation [51].

[51] On the Council of 725-726, *see above* Chapter XII, nn. 29-30, and Ter Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, pp. 71 sqq., 178 sqq.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS

A. Ptolemy - Geography

ΚΕΦ. ϛ'. ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ[1]

1. Ἡ Καππαδοκία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Γαλατίᾳ καὶ μέρει Παμφυλίας κατά τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου γραμμὴν μέχρι τοῦ πέρατος, οὗ ἡ θέσις ἐπέχει μοίρας 64^{0} $37^{0}\ 40'$

ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῇ τε Κιλικίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ ὄρους γραμμὴν ἕως πέρατος, οὗ ἡ θέσις 70^{0} $37^{0}\ 20'$

καὶ μέρει Συρίας τῷ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τμῆμα τὸ ἐπέχον μοίρας $71^{0}\ 20'$ 38^{0}

ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ἀρμενίᾳ Μεγάλῃ παρὰ μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου τμήματος μέχρι τῆς ἀρκτικωτάτης αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφῆς, ἣ ἐπέχει μοίρας 71^{0} $42^{0}\ 30'$

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῇ παρὰ τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη γραμμῇ μέχρι πέρατος, οὗ ἡ θέσις 73^{0} $44^{0}\ 45'$

καὶ τῇ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιζευγνυούσῃ τὸ εἰρημένον πέρας γραμμῇ·

ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων μέρει τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου τῷ ἀπὸ Ἀμισοῦ τῆς Γαλατίας μέχρι πέρατος, οὗ θέσις $72^{0}20'$ $44^{0}\ 45'$

2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν παράλιος τούτου τοῦ τμήματος ἔχει περιγραφὴν τοιαύτην· Λευκοσύρων ...

3. Πόντου Γαλατικοῦ περὶ τὴν Φανάροιαν τὸ πεδίον ...

4. Πόντου Πολεμωνιακοῦ

Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαι	67^{0}	$43^{0}\ 15'$
αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ	$68^{0}\ 30'$	$42^{0}\ 45'$
Πολεμώνιον	$67^{0}\ 15'$	$43^{0}\ 05'$
Ἰασόνιον ἄκρον	$67^{0}\ 30'$	$43^{0}\ 15'$
Κοτύωρον	$67^{0}\ 35'$	$43^{0}\ 05'$
Ἑρμώνασσα	$67^{0}\ 50'$	$43^{0}\ 15'$

[1] *Ptolemy*, pp. 865-894.

5. *Πόντου Καππαδοκικοῦ παρὰ μὲν τὴν Σιδηνήν*

Ισχόπολις	68° 20'	43° 20'
Κερασοῦς	68° 50'	43° 20'
Φαρνακία	69° 20'	43° 05'
Ὕσσου λιμήν	70° 45'	43° 20'
Τραπεζοῦς	70° 50'	43° 05'

6. *παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Κισσίους*

Ὀφιοῦς	71°	43° 25'
Ῥιζοῦς λιμήν	71° 10'	43° 35'
Ἀθηνῶν ἄκρον	71°	43° 45'
Κορδύλη	71° 20'	43° 45'
Μόρθουλα	71° 40'	43° 45'
Ἀρχάβιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	72°	44°
Ξυλίνη	72° 05'	44° 10'
Κίσσα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	72° 10'	44° 20'
Ἄψορρος	72° 20'	44° 30'
Ἀψόρρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	72° 20'	44° 40'
καθ' ὃ σχίζεται τὸν Γλαῦκον ποταμὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν Λύκον	72° 30'	43° 45'
αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἀψόρρου ποταμοῦ	72° 45'	43°
αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Λύκου	71° 15'	43°
Σεβαστόπολις	72° 20'	44° 45'

7. *Ὄρη δὲ ἀξιόλογα διέζωκε τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ὅ τε Ἀργαῖος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας* 65° 30' 40° 30'

καί 66° 30' 39° 40'

ὅθεν ὁ Μέλας καλούμενος ποταμὸς ῥέων συμβάλλει τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχυσαν μοίρας 71° 39° 20'

καὶ ὁ Ἀντίταυρος τὸ ὄρος διήκων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους μέχρι τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν διαλείμματι, οὗ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ὄρει τμῆμα ἐπέχει μοίρας 65° 30' 38° 30' ...

καί 67° 15' 39° 15'

τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ ἐπέχει καὶ αὐτὸ μοίρας

67° 30' 39° 40'

καὶ 71° 30' 41° 15'

καὶ ὁ Σκορδίσκος τὸ ὄρος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας

68° 41°

καί 69° 42° 30' ...

9. *Πόντου Πολεμωνιακοῦ μεσόγειοι*

Γοζαλήνα	66° 30'	42° 40'

Εὔδιφος	*67⁰ 20'*	*42⁰ 10'*
Καρουανις	*67⁰ 40'*	*42⁰ 10'*
Βαρβάνισσα	*68⁰*	*42⁰ 20'*
"Αβλατα	*68⁰ 20'*	*42⁰*
Νεοκαισάρεια	*67⁰ 20'*	*41⁰ 50'*
Σαυρανία	*68⁰*	*42⁰*
Μεγάλουλα	*67⁰ 40'*	*41⁰ 40'*
Ζῆλα	*67⁰ 30'*	*41⁰ 42'*
Δανάη	*68⁰*	*41⁰*
Σεβάστεια	*68⁰*	*40⁰ 40'*
Μεσορώμη	*68⁰ 30'*	*41⁰ 45'*
Σαβαλία	*68⁰ 20'*	*41⁰ 40'*
Μεγαλοσσός	*68⁰ 10'*	*41⁰ 20'*
10. Πόντου Καππαδοκικοῦ μεσόγειοι		
Ζεφύριον	*68⁰ 20'*	*43⁰*
"Αζα	*69⁰*	*42⁰ 30'*
Κοκάλια	*69⁰ 30'*	*42⁰ 45'*
Κορδύλη	*70⁰*	*43⁰*
Τραπεζοῦσα	*70⁰ 30'*	*43⁰ 05'*
"Ασιβα	*71⁰ 20'*	*43⁰ 15'*
Μαρδάρα	*71⁰ 30'*	*43⁰ 40'*
Καμουρήσαρβον	*72⁰*	*43⁰ 30'*
11. Στρατηγίας Χαμανηνῆς		
Ζάμα	*65⁰*	*40⁰ 45'*
"Ανδρακα	*65⁰*	*40⁰ 20'*
Γαδασήνα	*65⁰ 45'*	*40⁰ 55'*
Οὐάδατα	*65⁰ 20'*	*40⁰*
Σαρούηνα	*65⁰ 40'*	*40⁰ 30'*
'Οδώγα	*66⁰*	*40⁰ 20'*
12. Στρατηγίας Σαργαυρασηνῆς		
Φιάρα	*67⁰*	*41⁰*
Σαδάγηνα	*66⁰ 20'*	*40⁰ 45'*
Γαύραινα	*67⁰*	*40⁰ 30'*
Σαβαλασσός	*66⁰ 30'*	*40⁰ 25'*
'Αριαράθιρα	*67⁰ 20'*	*40⁰ 45'*
Μάρωγα	*67⁰ 30'*	*40⁰ 30'*
13. Στρατηγίας Γαρσαυηρίτιδος		
Φρέατα	*65⁰*	*40⁰*
'Αρχελαΐς	*64⁰ 45'*	*39⁰ 40'*

Ναυασσός	65^0 30'	39^0 45'
Διοκαισάρεια	65^0 30'	39^0 30'
Σαλαμβρίαι	65^0 15'	39^0 20'
Τετραπυργία	66^0	39^0 20'
14. Στρατηγίας Κιλικίας		
Μουστιλία	66^0 15'	40^0 20'
Σίουα	66^0 30'	40^0 05'
Κάμπαι	66^0 15'	39^0 45'
Μάζακα ἡ καὶ Καισάρεια	66^0 30'	39^0 30'
Κύζιστρα	67^0	39^0 20'
Εὐάγινα	67^0 10'	40^0 15'
Ἄρχαλλα	67^0 30'	40^0
Σόβαρα	67^0 10'	39^0 40'

15. Λυκαονίας ...

16. Στρατηγίας Ἀντιοχιανῆς ...

17. Στρατηγίας Τυανίτιδος

18. Ἀρμενίας Μικρᾶς ἡ μὲν ἀρκτικωτάτη καλεῖται Ὀρβαλισηνή, ἡ δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν Αἰτουλανή, εἶτα Αἰρετικὴ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Ὀρσηνὴ καὶ μεσημβρινωτάτη μετὰ τὴν Ὀρσηνὴν Ὀρβισηνή, πόλεις δέ εἰσὶ παρὰ μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην αἵδε·

19. Σινήρα	71^0	42^0 30'
Ἀζιρίς	71^0	42^0
Δάλανα	71^0	41^0 40'
Σίσμαρα	71^0 30'	41^0 25'
Ζίμαρα	71^0 30'	40^0 40'
Δασκοῦσα	71^0	40^0 25'
20. ἐντὸς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς ὀρεινάς		
Σάταλα	69^0 30'	42^0 10'
Δόμανα	70^0	42^0 05'
Τάπουρα	70^0 30'	42^0 10'
Νικόπολις	69^0	41^0 40'
Χορσαβία	69^0 40'	41^0 45'
Χάραξ	70^0 30'	41^0 45'
Δάγωνα	68^0 40'	41^0 20'
Σελεοβέρεια	69^0 30'	41^0
Καλτιόρισσα	69^0 50'	41^0 15'
Ἀνάλιβλα	70^0 20'	41^0 10'
Πισιγγάρα	68^0 30'	40^0 55'
Γοδάσα	69^0	40^0 45'

Εὐδοίξατα	68° 15’	40° 25’
Καράπη	71° 20’	41°
Κασάρα	70° 30’	40° 40’
Ὀρόμανδος	69° 40’	40° 30’
Ἴσπα	70° 30’	40° 20’
Φούφηνα	69°	40° 15’
Ἀράνη	69° 45’	40° 10’
Φουφάγηνα	68° 30’	39° 50’
Μάρδαρα	69° 05’	39° 45’
Οὐαρσάπα	67° 50’	39° 30’
Ὄρσα	68° 30’	39° 30’
21. *Μελιτηνῆς*		
παρὰ μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν		
Δάγουσα	71°	40° 05’
Σινίσκολον	71°	39° 45’
Μελιτηνή	71°	39° 30’
ἐντὸς δὲ τούτων		
Ζωπαρισσός	70°	40°
Τιταρισσός	69° 45’	39° 45’
Κιάνικα	69° 20’	39° 30’
Φουσιπάρα	70° 30’	39° 40’
Εὐσιμάρα	70° 10’	39° 30’
Ἰασσός	69°	39° 30’
Κιακίς	69° 30’	39° 15’
Λεύγαισα	70° 15’	39° 10’
Μάρκαλα	70° 40’	39° 20’
Σημισσός	70° 30’	39° 20’
Λαδοινερίς	69° 30’	38° 50’
22. *Στρατηγίας Καταονίας*		
Καβασσός	67° 15’	38° 35’
Τύννα	66° 50’	38° 30’
Τιραλλίς	67°	38° 20’
Κύβιστρα	66°	38° 15’
Κλαυδιόπολις	65° 40’	37° 50’
Δαλισανδός	66° 20’	37° 50’
Ποδυανδός	67°	38°
Κόμανα Καππαδοκίας	68°	38°
Μόψου Κρήνη	67° 20’	37° 30’
Ταναδαρίς	68° 20’	37° 45’

Λεανδίς	*68⁰ 40'*	*37⁰ 40'*
23. Στρατηγίας Μουριμηνῆς		
Σινδίτα	*67⁰ 30'*	*39⁰ 10'*
Κόταινα	*68⁰ 15'*	*39⁰ 10'*
Ζοροπασσός	*69⁰ 20'*	*39⁰*
Νύσσα	*68⁰ 20'*	*38⁰ 40'*
'Αράσαξα	*67⁰ 30'*	*38⁰ 30'*
Καρναλίς	*68⁰ 45'*	*38⁰ 30'*
Γαρνάκη	*68⁰ 30'*	*38⁰ 10'*
24. Στρατηγίας Λαουιανσηνῆς		
πρὸς μὲν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ		
Κόρνη	*71⁰*	*39⁰ 15'*
Μέτειτα	*71⁰*	*39⁰*
Κλαυδιάς	*71⁰*	*38⁰ 45'*
ἐντὸς δὲ τούτων		
Καπαρκελίς	*70⁰ 10'*	*39⁰*
Ζιζόατρα	*70⁰*	*38⁰ 45'*
Πασάρνη	*70⁰ 30'*	*38⁰ 30'*
Κίζαρα	*69⁰ 20'*	*38⁰ 30'*
Σαβάγηνα	*68⁰ 50'*	*38⁰ 10'*
Νοσαλήνη	*69⁰ 50'*	*38⁰ 20'*
Λαύγασα	*69⁰ 20'*	*37⁰ 50'*
25. Στρατηγίας 'Αραυηνῆς		
παρὰ μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν		
'Ιουλιόπολις	*71⁰*	*38⁰ 25'*
Βαρζαλώ	*71⁰*	*38⁰ 10'*
ἐντὸς δὲ τούτων		
Σεραστέρη	*70⁰ 40'*	*38⁰ 15'*
Λακριασσός	*70⁰ 15'*	*38⁰ 10'*
'Εντέλεια	*70⁰*	*37⁰ 45'*
"Αδαταθα	*69⁰ 30'*	*37⁰ 30'*

... *ΚΕΦ. Θ'. ΚΟΛΧΙΔΟΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ* [2]

.... *3. 'Απὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῷ ἐντεῦθεν Καππαδοκικῷ Πόντῳ παρὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην γραμμὴν καὶ τῷ ἑξῆς μέρει τῆς Μεγάλης 'Αρμενίας διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς γραμμῆς μέχρι πέρατος, οὗ θέσις*

	74⁰	*44⁰ 40'*

[2] *Ptolemy*, pp. 922-924.

ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ἰβηρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιζευγνύουσαν τὰ ἐκτεθειμένα διὰ τῶν Καυκασίων ὀρέων γραμμὴν ἕως 75^0 47^0 ...

... ΚΕΦ. Ι. ἸΒΗΡΙΑΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ [3]

1. *Ἡ Ἰβηρία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ ἐκτεθειμένῳ τῆς Σαρματίας μέρει· ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως Κολχίδι παρὰ τὴν εἰρημένην γραμμήν· ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας μέρει τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Κολχίδι ὁρίου μέχρι πέρατος οὗ ἡ θέσις ἐπέχει μοίρας* 76^0 $44^0\ 40'$

ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ἀλβανίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιζευγνύουσαν τὰ ἐκτεθειμένα πέρατα γραμμὴν ἕως 77^0 47^0

2. *Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι αἵδε·*

Λούβιον κώμη	$75^0\ 40'$	$46^0\ 50'$
Ἄγιννα	75^0	$46^0\ 30'$
Οὐάσαιδα	76^0	$46^0\ 20'$
Οὐάρικα	$75^0\ 20'$	46^0
Σοῦρα	75^0	$45^0\ 20'$
Ἀρτάνισσα	$75^0\ 40'$	46^0
Μεστλῆτα	$74^0\ 40'$	45^0
Ζάλισσα	76^0	$44^0\ 40'$
Ἁρμάκτικα	75^0	$44^0\ 30'$

ΚΕΦ. ΙΑʹ. ἈΛΒΑΝΙΑΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ [4]

1. *Ἡ Ἀλβανία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ ἐκτεθειμένῳ μέρει τῆς Σαρματίας· ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν Ἰβηρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἀφωρισμένην γραμμήν· ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβριάς Ἀρμενίας τῆς Μεγάλης μέρει τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πέρατος μέχρι τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ,*
αἳ ἐπέχουσι μοίρας $79^0\ 40'$ $44^0\ 30'$

ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τῷ ἐντεῦθεν μέχρι τοῦ Σοάνα ποταμοῦ τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης μέρει κατὰ περιγραφὴν τοιαύτην· μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σοάνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολήν, ἣ ἐπέχει 86^0 47^0

2. *Τέλαιβα πόλις* 85^0 $46^0\ 40'$

[3] *Ptolemy*, pp. 926-927.

[4] *Ptolemy*, pp. 928-931.

Γέρρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	84^0 30'	46^0 30'
Γέλδα πόλις	83^0	46^0 30'
Κασίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	82^0 30'	46^0
Ἀλβάνα πόλις	81^0 40'	45^0 50'
Ἀλβάνου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	80^0 30'	45^0 30'
Γάγγαρα πόλις	79^0 30'	45^0
μεθ' ἣν αἱ τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	79^0 40'	44^0 30'

3. Πόλεις δέ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀλβανίᾳ καὶ κῶμαι μεταξὺ μὲν τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἰς τὸν Κύρον ἐμβάλλοντος, ὃς παρ' ὅλην τήν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίαν ῥεῖ διορίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν,

Τάγωδα	77^0 30'	46^0 50'
Βακχία	77^0	46^0 30'
Σανούα	77^0 40'	46^0 40'
Δηγλάνη	77^0 20'	45^0 45'
Νίγα	77^0 20'	45^0 15'

4. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβάνου ποταμοῦ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου ῥεῖ,

Μόσηγα	79^0	47^0
Σαμουνίς	79^0	46^0 40'
Ἰόβουλα	78^0	46^0 20'
Ἰούνα	79^0	46^0
Ἐμβόλαιον	78^0 30'	45^0 40'
Ἀδίαβλα	79^0	45^0 30'
Ἀβλάνα	78^0	45^0 15'
Καμεχία	79^0 45'	45^0 40'
Ὄσικα	77^0 30'	44^0 45'
Σιόδα	78^0 15'	44^0 40'
Βαρούκα	79^0 20'	44^0 40'
ἐπέχουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ Ἀλβάνιαι Πύλαι μοίρας, ὡς εἴρηται,	80^0	47^0

5. Μεταξυ δε τοῦ Ἀλβάνου και τοῦ Κασίου ποταμοῦ

Χαβάλα	80^0	47^0
Χοβῶτα	80^0 30'	46^0 45'
Βοζιάτα	80^0	46^0 20'
Μισία	81^0	46^0 20'
Χαδάχα	81^0	46^0
Ἄλαμος	82^0	46^0 15'

μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Κασίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γέρρου ποταμοῦ

Θίαννα	82° 15'	46° 40'
Θαβιλάκα	82° 45'	46° 50'

μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σόανα ποταμοῦ

Θιλβίς	84° 15'	46° 50'

6. Νῆσοι δὲ παράκεινται τῇ Ἀλβανίᾳ δύο ἑλώδεις, ὧν τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχει μοίρας 80° 30' 45°

ΚΕΦ. ΙΒ'. ἈΡΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ [5]

Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἀρμενία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ τε τῆς Κολχίδος μέρει καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἀλβανίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην διὰ Κύρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ γραμμήν· ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως Καππαδοκίᾳ παρὰ τὸ ἐκτεθειμένον τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέρος καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐκκείμενον τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου μέχρι τῆς Κολχίδος διὰ τῆς τῶν Μοσχικῶν ὀρέων γραμμῆς· ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τῆς τε Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης μέρει τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῶν μέχρι πέρατος, οὗ ἡ θέσις 79° 45' 43° 20'

καὶ Μηδίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσπιον ὄρος καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Κάσπιον ὄρος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας

	79°	42° 30'
καί	80° 30'	40°

ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῇ τε Μεσοποταμίᾳ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρος γραμμήν, ἥτις τῷ μὲν Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ συνάπτει κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσαν μοίρας 71° 30' 38°

τῷ δὲ Τίγριδι ποταμῷ κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσαν μοίρας 75° 30' 38° 30'

καὶ τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ παρὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ Νιφάτου ὄρους γραμμὴν ὡς ἐπ' εὐθείας τῇ εἰρημένῃ μέχρι τοῦ εἰρημένου πέρατος τοῦ Κασπίου ὄρους, δι' ἧς γραμμῆς διατείνει ὁ Νιφάτης ὄρος.

2. Ὄρη δὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ὀνομάζεται τά τε καλούμενα Μοσχικὰ διατείνοντα παρὰ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον μέρος τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου καὶ ὁ Παρυάδρης ὄρος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει ποίρας

	75°	43° 20'
καί	77°	42°

καὶ ὁ Οὐδακέσπης ὄρος, οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 80° 30' 40°

[5] *Ptolemy*, pp. 932-949.

καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιταύρου τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 72° 41° 40'

καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄβας ὄρος, οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 77° 41° 10'

καὶ τὰ Γορδυαῖα ὄρη, ὧν τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 75° 39° 40'

3. Ποταμοὶ δὲ διαρρέουσι τὴν χώραν ὅ τε Ἀράξης ποταμός, ὃς τὰς μὲν ἐκβολὰς ἔχει κατὰ θέσιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης, ἣ ἐπέχει μοίρας 79° 45' 43° 50'

τὰς δὲ πηγὰς κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσαν μοίρας 76° 30' 42° 30'

ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμηθεὶς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρι τοῦ Κασπίου ὄρους καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς ἄρκτους τῇ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν ἐκβάλλει, τῇ δὲ συμβάλλει τῷ Κύρῳ ποταμῷ κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσαν μοίρας 78° 30' 44° 30'

καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφῆς μέρος μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν. αἳ ἐπέχουσι μοίρας 75° 40' 42° 40'

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα ἀξιολογωτέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐκτροπή, ἧς τὸ μὲν συνάπτον τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῳ πέρας ἐπέχει μοίρας 71° 30' 40° 30'

τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πηγὰς 77° 41°

καὶ τὸ ἀπολαμβανόμενον τοῦ Τίγριδος ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ γινομένου ὑπὸ τῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευρᾶς τμήματος μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τίγριδος, αἵτινες ἐπέχουσι μοίρας 74° 40' 39° 40'

ποιοῦσαι λίμνην τὴν καλουμένην Θωσπῖτιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι λίμναι ἥ τε καλουμένη Λυχνῖτις, ἧς τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 78° 43° 15'

καὶ ἡ Ἄρσησα λίμνη ἧς τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας 78° 30' 40° 45'

4. Χῶραι δέ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀπολαμβανομένῳ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου καὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀράξου ποταμῶν τμήματι παρὰ μὲν τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη ἡ Καταρζηνὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς καλουμένους Βόχας, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Κύρον ποταμὸν ἥ τε Ὠβαρηνὴ καὶ ἡ Ὠτηνή, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἥ τε Κολθηνὴ καὶ ἡ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Σοδουκηνή, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Παρυάδρην τὸ ὄρος ἥ τε Σιρακηνὴ καὶ ἡ Σακασηνή· καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τμήματι

5. Σάλα	73° 20'	44° 20'
Ἄσκουρα	74°	44° 10'

Βάραζα	75⁰ 20'	44⁰ 10'
Λάλα	76⁰ 10'	44⁰
Σαντοῦτα	77⁰ 20'	44⁰ 20'
Σαταφάρα	78⁰	44⁰ 20'
Τῶγα	78⁰ 50'	43⁰ 30'
Οὐαρούθα	73⁰	43⁰
'Αζάτα	73⁰ 45'	43⁰ 45'
Χολούα	74⁰	43⁰ 10'
Σηδάλα	74⁰ 40'	43⁰ 45'
Σοῦρτα	74⁰ 30'	43⁰ 40'
Ταστίνα	74⁰ 40'	43⁰
Κοζάλα	75⁰ 20'	43⁰ 30'
Κοτομάνα	75⁰ 15'	43⁰ 40'
Βατίννα	76⁰ 10'	43⁰ 40'
Διζάκα	76⁰ 50'	43⁰ 10'
Πτοῦσα	77⁰	43⁰ 45'
Γλίσμα	78⁰ 20'	43⁰ 40'
Χολουάτα	78⁰ 45'	43⁰ 40'
Σακάλβινα	79⁰ 10'	43⁰ 15'
'Αρσαράτα	79⁰ 30'	43⁰ 15'
καὶ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν		
Βρεσσός	72⁰	42⁰ 45'
'Ηλέγεια	73⁰ 20'	42⁰ 45'
Χασίρα	74⁰	42⁰ 40'
Χόρσα	74⁰ 40'	42⁰ 50'
Θαλίνα	75⁰ 20'	42⁰ 45'
[καὶ παρὰ τὸν 'Αράξην ποταμόν]		
'Αρμαουίρα	76⁰ 40'	42⁰ 45'
'Αρταξάτα	78⁰	42⁰ 40'
Ναξουανα	78⁰ 50'	42⁰ 45'

6. 'Εν δὲ τῷ ἀπολαμβανομένῳ τμήματι ὑπὸ τὸ εἰρημένον μέχρι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκτροπῆς ἀρκτικώτεραι μὲν εἰσι χῶραι ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἥ τε Βασιλισηνὴ καὶ ἡ Βολβηνὴ καὶ ἡ "Αρσησα, ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας ἥ τε 'Ακιλισηνὴ καὶ ἡ 'Ασταυνῖτις καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκτροπῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ Σωφηνή. Πόλεις δέ εἰσιν έν τούτῳ τῷ τμήματι αἵδε

7. 'Αθούα	71⁰ 30'	42⁰ 30'
Τίνισσα	73⁰ 30'	42⁰ 30'
Ζόριγα	71⁰ 30'	42⁰

Σάνα	73° 30'	42°
Βρίζακα	74° 50'	42° 30'
Δαράνισσα	76°	42° 20'
Ζογοκάρα	77° 15'	42° 20'
Κούβινα	78° 30'	42° 20'
Κοδάνα	71° 30'	41° 40'
Καχούρα	72°	41° 20'
Χολούα	73° 30'	41°
Σογοκάρα	74°	41°
Φαύσυα	74° 15'	41° 45'
Φανδαλία	74° 50'	41° 30'
Ζαρουάνα	75° 40'	41° 45'
Κίταμον	76°	41° 30'
Ἀνάριον	76° 50'	41° 30'
Σιγούα	77°	41°
Τερούα	78°	41° 50'
Ζουρζούα	78° 30'	41° 40'
Ματουστάνα	78°	41° 40'
Ἀστακάνα	78°	41°
Τάρεινα	72° 20'	41°
Βαλισβίγα	73° 40'	40° 40'
Βαβίλα	74° 20'	40° 45'
Σαγανάνα	75° 15'	40° 45'
Ἄζαρα	76° 10'	40° 50'

8. Ἐν δὲ τῷ λοιπῷ καὶ μεσημβρινωτέρῳ τμήματι μεταξὺ μὲν Εὐφράτου καὶ τῶν Τίγροδος πηγῶν ἥ τε Ανζιτηνὴ καὶ ἡ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Θωσπῖτις· εἶτα ἡ Κοριαία· καὶ πόλεις ὁμοίως ἐν τούτῳ

Ἠλέγερδα	72° 15'	40° 15'
Μαζάρα	71° 20'	39° 50'
Ἄνζιτα	72°	39° 30'
Σόειτα	72° 50'	39° 30'
Βελκανία	73° 30'	39° 20'
Σελγία	74°	40°
Θωσπία	74° 20'	39° 50'
Κολχίς	75° 30'	39°
Σιαυάνα	71° 30'	38° 20'
Ἀρσαμόσατα	73°	38° 20'
Κόρρα	74° 30'	38° 40'

9. ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν δὲ τῶν Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ πηγῶν ἥ τε Βαγρανανδηνὴ

καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἡ Γορδυηνή, ἧς ἀνατολικωτέρα ἡ Κωταία καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Μάρδοι. Πόλεις δέ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοίως αἵδε·

10. Τάσκα	*75° 30'*	*40° 10'*
Φώρα	*76°*	*40° 10'*
Μαῖπα	*76° 10'*	*40° 40'*
Βουάνα	*76° 45'*	*40°*
Χολίμμα	*77° 45'*	*40° 40'*
Τερεβία	*77° 40'*	*40° 55'*
Δαυδυάνα	*77° 40'*	*40° 20'*
Καποῦτα	*79° 20'*	*40° 30'*
'Αρτέμιτα	*78° 40'*	*40° 20'*
Θελβαλάνη	*76° 15'*	*39° 50'*
Σίαι	*75° 45'*	*39° 40'*
Φερενδίς	*74° 40'*	*39° 20'*
Τιγρανόκερτα	*76° 45'*	*39° 40'*
Σαρδηούα	*75° 50'*	*39° 10'*
Κόλσα	*78°*	*39° 50'*
Τιγρανοάμα	*79° 45'*	*40°*
'Αρταγιγάρτα	*75° 20'*	*38° 45'*

... ΚΕΦ. ΙΖ'. ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΘΕΣΙΣ[6]

'Η Μεσοποταμία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ ἐκτεθειμένῳ μέρει τῆς Μεγάλης 'Αρμενίας· ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως τῷ ἐκτεθειμένῳ παρὰ τὴν Συριὰν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέρει· ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τῷ παρὰ τὴν 'Ασσυρίαν μέρει τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ 'Αρμενίᾳ τμήματος μέχρι τῶν τοῦ 'Ηρακλέους βωμῶν οἳ ἐπέχουσι μοίρας *80°* *34° 20'*

.... 2. "Ορη μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ κατονομάζεται τό τε Μάσιον ὄρος, οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας *74°* *37° 20'*

.... 4. Κατέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ 'Αρμενίᾳ ἡ 'Ανθεμουσία, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ Χαλκῖτις· ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτην ἥ τε Γαυζανῖτις καὶ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι ποταμῷ ἡ 'Ακαβηνή· ὑπο δὲ τὴν Γαυζανῖτιν ἡ Τινιγηνή καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἡ 'Αγκωβαρῖτις.

.... 6. Παρὰ δὲ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμον πόλεις αἵδε· ...

... Σάπφη *76°* *37° 40'*

[6] *Ptolemy*, pp. 1000-1011.

... *Σιγγάρα*	*76°*	*37°*
... *᾿Απάμεια*	*79° 50'*	*34° 20'*
.... 7. *᾿Εν δε τῇ μέσῃ χώρᾳ πόλεις αἵδε·* ...		
... *῎Εδεσσα*	*72° 30'*	*37° 30'*
... *Νίσιβις*	*75° 10'*	*37° 30'*
... *Κάῤῥαι*	*73° 15'*	*36° 10'*
... *῾Ρεσαίνα*	*74° 40'*	*35° 40'* [7]

B. Armenian Geography - Long version [8]

ԺԷ. Աշխարհ Երկրորդ Հայք, որ արդ կոչին Առաջին Հայք, յելից կալով Կիլիկիոյ առ Տաւրոս լերամբ յերի Ամանոս լերին, որ բաժանէ ընդ նա և ընդ Կոմագենի Ասորւոց մինչև ցԵփրատ : Ունի և այլ լերինս. զԻգոն և զԲասիլիկոն և զԿոորմանդոն. և գետ զնոյն զՊիռամիս և զՊառատիս և զԿաւկաւա և զԿառոմոսոս, և դրունս երկու ելանելոյ Ասորւոց :

[Առաջին Հայք յելից կալով Առաջին Կապադովկիոյ առ ջրի Բ Հայոց. և սահմանի յելից Եփրատաւ. և լեառն ունի զԱռգէոս. և գետ երեսուն, զԱլիս, և այլ մանունս :

Երրորդ Հայք են որ կան յարևելից Կապադովկիոյ, և երկայն տարածի մինչև ցԵփրատ. և ունի այլ գետս երկու, և լերինս բազումս մեծամեծս քսանևերկու :] ···

Եւ ապա Կաւկաս բաժանի յերկուս բազուկս, մինն գնայ դէպ ուղիղս կոյս, յորում Ծրւան և Խսրւան ազգ՝ մինչև ցԽորսվէմ. և միւս բազուկն արձակէ նախ վտակ մի զԱրմ գետ, որ է դէպ ուղիղ 'ի Հիւսիսի՝ յԱթլ գետ, և ապա նոյն բազուկն գնայ զելիւք Հիւսիւսոյ, յորում բնակեալ են Թաւասպարք, Հեճնատակք, Իժմախք, Փասխք, Փուսխք, Փւքանակք, Բագանք, ուստի առնու պարիսպն երկայն՝ որ կոչի Ապզուտկաւատ, մինչև ցԱլղմինոն մօրս? և ցծով : Որոյ ըստ Հիւսիսոյ՝ Մասքութան ազգն բնակեալ են, 'ի Վարդանեան դաշտին, մինչև ցԿասբից ծովն, յոր բազուկն Կաւկասայ Հպի, յորմէ ածեալ է զպարիսպն Դարբանդայ, այսինքն Կապ և դրուն՝ քաղաք պահակին Ճորայ. աշտարակ ահագին 'ի ներքս 'ի ծովուն կացուցեալ : Իսկ 'ի Հիւսիսոյ նորա՝ Թագաւորութիւն Հոնաց հուպ 'ի ծով. և 'ի մտից նորա առ Կաւկասով Վարաճան քաղաք նոցին Հոնաց և Ջունգարս և Մսքնդռ : Եւ յարևելից բնակեն Սաւիրք ցԹալը գետ, որ մեկնէ ընդ Ասիական Սարմատք

[7] On the accuracy of Ptolemy's information, *cf.* Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 62 sqq., 283 sqq., Jones *CERP*, Appendix, and W. Kubitschek, "Studien zur Geographie des Ptolemäus, I", *SAW*, CCXV (1934).

[8] *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 24/33-40/53.

և ընդ Սկիւթիա աշխարհք. որ են Ապախթարք, այսինքն Թուրքաստանք, և Խաքան թագաւոր նոցա, և Խաթունն՝ դշխոյ նոցա կին Խաքանայ ։

ԺԹ. Աշխարհ Ասիոյ Կողքիս է, որ է Եգր. յելից կալով Պոնտոս ծովուն առ երի Սարմատիոյ, 'ի մտիցն Դռակոն գետոյ մինչև ցԿաւկաս լեառն և ցնորին բազուկ, որ բաժանէ ընդ նա և ընդ Վիրս. և անտի սահմանի մասամբ ինչ Մէծ Հայոց մինչև ցԿապպադական Պոնտոս ։ Եւ բաժանեալ է յինքեան չորս աշխարհս փոքունս, 'ի Մանիլ, 'ի յԸգռև, 'ի Կի, որ է Առանձնակ Եգերայ, 'ի խաղ իւրում Փասիս գետ, առ հոմանուն քաղաքաւ, և 'ի Ճանիւս որ են Խաղտիք, յորում գետ Մեգաղու Պոտամիա ։ Ունի և այլ գետս. զԱկամսիս որ է Ցոհ, որ գայ 'ի Մեծ Հայոց ։ Ունի հինգ քաղաքս, Իանի, Կոտա, Ռոդիւ—պօլիս, Աթինա, Ռիզոն և այլ բազում եմպոռիոնս այսինքն գեղաքաղաքս ծովեզերեայս, յորոց է Տրապիզոն ։

Ի. Աշխարհ Վիրք, յելից կալով Եգերայ, յերի Սարմատիոյ առ Կաւկասով, մինչև ցԱղուանից սահման, և մինչև ցՀայոց սահմանն՝ առ Կուր գետովն ։

Եւ գաւառք են այս, սկսեալ 'ի Վոհ գետոյ և 'ի հիւսիսոյ Տայոց. Կղարճք, զոր 'ի Հայոց հանեալ և, Շաւշէթ. Արտահան գաւառ, զոր առեալ է 'ի Հայոց, ընդ որ անցանէ գետն հզօր Կուր, որ 'ի Տայոց գալով, 'ի Կող գաւառէ ընդ ստորոտս Ջաւախաց, իջանէ 'ի Սամցխէ և դառնայ յարևելս՝ անցանելով ընդ Վերին աշխարհն Վրաց, բաժանելով զգաւառսն, զԳոռոթիսխև, զՏունիսխև, որոյ 'ի գլուխն Դեկիցխէ բերդ, և զՄամգլեացփոր, և զԲողնոփոր՝ մինչև ցՊարուար գաւառ, որ պատէ զՏփխիս քաղաքաւ. բայց երեք փորակդ 'ի Հայոց հանեալ է ։ Իսկ ըստ հիւսիսոյ գետոյն մեծին Կուրայ, հանդէպ Թար գաւառի՝ Արգւէթու լերունք, և 'ի նոյն կողմանէ դաշտին Դւան, և Աչէւէ—տիսխև և Քորդիթիրիկոսխև, մինչև ցՍացխումէթ, որ 'ի ստորոտս Կովկասու. յորմէ հոսի Լէխ գետ, և անցեալ 'ի հարաւ կոյս իջանէ 'ի Կուր. և առ նովաւ Խառնիսխև 'ի Ցխրասձմայս, մինչև յԱրագւ գետ, որ հոսի 'ի Կաւկասայ, և գնալով ընդ հարաւ ընդ Ախալցիխէ բերդ, և անցանէ ընդ մէջ Մցխիթայ քաղաքի և բլրոյ Սուրբ խաչին, իջանէ 'ի Կուր, և բովանդակի 'ի Վերին աշխարհ Վրաց. յորմէ յառաջ խաղացեալ Կուր՝ գայ 'ի Տփխիս մայրաքաղաք Վրաց. զնա թողլով Պարուարաւ, և զԾոփոփոր և զԿողբոփոր և զՁորոփոր հոմանուն գետօք, մինչև ցՀնարակերտ քաղաք, զորս 'ի Հայոց հանեալ է. որոց ըստ հարաւոյ լեառնադաշտքն Ջաւախաց բազում լճօք լի դանազան ձկամբք, և Թռեղք և Տաշիր. որոց 'ի հարաւ Գանկարքա. զամէնդ 'ի Հայոց հանեալ է ։ Իսկ հանդէպ դոցա ըստ հիւսիսոյ կողմանէ Կուրայ՝ գաւառք, Խւէթ, Խերկ, Էրծւոյ, Թիանէթ, Ծոբէնոր ։

ԻԱ. Աշխարհ Աղբանիա, այսինքն Աղուանք, յելից Վրաց, յերի Սարմատիոյ առ Կաւկասով, մինչև ցՀայոց սահմանաւ, առ Կուր գետով. թէպէտ և սատի ցԿուր զամենայն սահմանս հանեալ է 'ի Հայոց ։ Բայց մեք սասացուք զքուն աշխարհն Աղուանից որ ընդ մէջս է մեծի գետոյս Կուրայ և Կովկաս լերինն ։

Նախ առ Վրօք, Եխնի գաւառ առ Աղուան գետոյն, և Քամբէճան առ Կուրաւ. և ըստ Հարաւոյ նորա բերդն Վարազմանաւառ, Հանդերձ Կուղրաթ գեղաքա— ղաքաւ, և վայրքն անապատ մինչև ցԿուր գետ. յորոյ յելից կողմանէ Գըլգաւ քաղաք, առ Աղուան գետով, և Բիխ գաւառ առ Կաւկասաւ, և յելից նորա, Շաքէ, և Դէգառու գետ. առ որով Հոմանում գաւառ՝ առ Սանի գետով ։ Այս ամենայն Հոսին 'ի Կովկասայ, և խառնեալ 'ի ՀԱղուան գետ՝ անկանին 'ի Կուր գետ. իսկ 'ի յելից կուսէ Քավաղակ քաղաք Աղուանից մերձ 'ի Կաւկաս. ընդ որոյ մէջ գետն Սեբոջ դէպ 'ի Հարաւոյ ըստ փոքր (?) Հայոց ։

ԻԲ. Ունին Մեծ Հայք շուրջ զիւրև գաւառս Հնգետասան, որք են այսք ։

Առաջին աշխարհ Բարձր Հայք, այսինքն Կարնոյ քաղաք. երկրորդ աշխարհ՝ Չորրորդ Հայք. երրորդ՝ Աղձնիք առ Տիգրիս գետով .չորրորդ՝ Տարուբերան որ է Տարօն. Հինգերորդ՝ Մոգք որ առ Ասորեստանեաւ. վեցերորդ աշխարհ՝ Կորճէք. եօթներորդ աշխարհ՝ Պարսկահայք, որ առ Ատրպատականիւք. ութերորդ աշխարհ՝ Վասպուրական, որ ըստ մտից Հիւսիսոյ նորա է. իններորդ աշխարհ Սիւնիք՝ որ առ Երասխաւ, տասներորդ՝ Արձախ որ յերի նորա կայ. մետասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Փայտակարան քաղաքով որ առ եզերբն, Կասբից 'ի մուտս Երասխայ. երկոտասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Ուտէացոց, որ առ Աղուանիւք և Կուր գետով. երեքտասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Գուգարք՝ որ առ Վրօք. չորեքտասա— ներորդ աշխարհ՝ Տայք, որ առ Եգերբ. Հնգետասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Արարատ, 'ի մէջ նոցա ։

Արդ ունի առաջին աշխարհ գաւառս ինն. Դարանաղի, Աղիւն, Մզուր, Եկեղեց, Մանանաղի, Դերջան, Սպեր, Շաղգամք, Կարին. և բարձր ոչ միայն քան զՀայք, այլ և քան զամենայն երկիր. վասն որոյ Կատար երկրի կոչեցին զնա, զի 'ի չորս կողմ աշխարհի ջուր արձակէ. զի բղխէ չորս գետս զօրեղս, զԵփրատ՝ յարեւմուտս, և զԵրասխ՝ յարեւելս, զԳայլ՝ 'ի Հարաւ, զԱկամսիս որ է Վոհ 'ի Հիւսիս ։ Ունի լերինս մեծս երիս. ունի երէս, եղջերու, այծ և քաղս, առն և արտի, վիթ, և կըկիթ և խոզ. և 'ի Հաւուց ճարակաւորս, զորս կաքաւ, զարաւշ, զանիղ և զայլս. ունի և ջերմուկս և աղտս և զամենայն պարարտութիւնս երկրի ։

Բ. Աշխարհ Հայոց. Չորրորդ Հայք, որ է Ծոփաց կողմն, յերի բարձր Հայոց, Մելտինէ քաղաքաւ սահմանի ըստ մտից, և ըստ Հարաւոյ՝ Միջագետովք, և ըստ ելից Տարօնով ։ Ունի գաւառս ութ. զԽորձայն՝ յելից Հիւսիսոյ, ընդ որ իջանէ միւս Գայլ գետ առ Կողոբերդովն. զՀաշտէնս, յորմէ բղխեն աղբիւրք Տիգրիս գետոյ. իսկ 'ի մտից Խորձայնոյ՝ է Պաղնատուն գաւառ, Հանդէպ Հոմանում բերդով. և Հանդէպ նորա 'ի Հարաւ՝ Բալախովիտ գաւառ. և 'ի մտից նոցա Ծոփք, և Անձիթ գաւառ՝ 'ի Հարաւ, յորում Ծովք և Հոռէ բերդ. և 'ի մտից մոցա Դէգիկ գաւառ, յորում բերդք Կոնի և Քրւիկ և Սոկ, որոց Հանդէպ 'ի Հարաւ է Գաւրէգ գաւառ, ընդ որս եկեալ Արածանի խառնի յԵփրատ 'ի քաղաքն Լուսաթառիճ, և երթալով զմտիւք՝ ելանէ 'ի սահմանս

Փոքր Հայոց, յելից Մելտինէ. և ապա խառնի 'ի նա Կաւկաս, գալով 'ի մտից կուսէ 'ի լեռնէն որ կոչի Ջիգոն Վասիթէոն, և նախ քան զանգանել նորա յԵփրատ՝ խառնի 'ի նա գետն Կառամինոն, որ գայ 'ի Տորոս լեռնէ և ընկալեալ յԵփրատ գնայ ընդ Հարաւ, Հատանէ զլեառն Տորոս. յորում տեղւոջ դտանի ակն բիւրեղ. և ունի Չորրորդ Հայք էրէս և Հաւս, և 'ի գազանաց զաուծ :

Դ. Աշխարհ Աղձնիք յելից կայ Միջագետաց, և Հիւսիսեաւ առ Դկղաթով. ունի գաւառս տասն. զՆփռետ, զԱղձն, ընդ որոց մէջն իջանէ գետն Քաղիրթ, զոր Շիթմա կոչեն Տաճիկք, այսինքն՝ արիւնարբու. յետ որոյ Քաղ գաւառ, և 'ի լերինն ունի զԿէթիկ, զՏատիկ, զԱզնուացձոր, զԵրխեթս, զՍալաձոր, զՍանասուն. ունի երկաթ քաջ, և զղթոր և 'ի Հաւուց՝ դեհուկ :

Դ. Աշխարհ Տարուբերան, յելից Չորրորդ Հայոց. ունի գաւառս վեշտասան. զԽոյթ, զԱսպականունեաց ձոր, զՏարօն, յորում գայ գետն Մեղ և անկանի յԵփրատ. որ ըստ Հիւսիսոյ՝ Աշմունիք՝ առ Սրմանց լերամբ, որ կոչի Կատար երկրի. յորմէ յոյժ բղխեն աղբիւրք. որոց ըստ Հիւսիսի՝ Մարդաղի՝ առ Մեղե-դուխ լերամբ, մինչև ցնոյն Այծպտկունս որ բաժանէ ընդ Կարին և ընդ նա. յորում գտանի սալակ և ձիղկ և նաւթ սև և սպիտակ. յորոյ յելից բխէ Մուրց գետ, գնալով ընդ Հիւսիւսի՝ իջանէ 'ի Բասեն գաւառ, և խառնի յԵրասխ, և գետացուցանէ զնա : Ցելից Մարդաղոյ է Գաստովոր գաւառ, և նորա յելից Տուարածատափ. նորա յելից Դալառ. և 'ի Հարաւոյ նոցա Հարք և Վաժ-նունիք, մինչև ցԱրածանի, որ իջանէ յԱպահունեաց. որոց 'ի Հարաւոյ՝ Սարակ 'ի Բզնունեաց գաւառի, 'ի Նեխ Մասեաց սկսանելով՝ պատէ զա-րեւմտեայ եզր Հոմանուն ծովուն, մինչև ցբերդն Բաղէշ, և անդր ևս 'ի Հարաւ կոյս ցԵրէվարդ գաւառի սահման : Եւ Բզնունիք ունի յիւր Հոմանուն ծովէն կղզիս երեք. զԱրձկէոյն, զԾիպանին և զՏոքեանն. որոյ ըստ Հարաւոյ 'ի մէջ լերինն Տորոսի և ծովու՝ գաւառ Երէվարք, յորում լիճ ինչ՝ որ կոչի Եղիգի, յուխից. զի 'ի վարելն յակօսն ջուր ըմպէ եզն, և սերմանեալն քառասուն աւրն Հասանէ, և բերէ ընդ միոյ՝ յիսուն : Եւ ծովս Բզնունեաց յերկայնն Հարիւր մղոն է, և լայնն վաթսուն : Որոյ ըստ Հիւսիսոյ Աղիովիտ գաւառ, և զմտիւք նորա Ապահունիք. ընդ որոյ մէջն անցանէ Արածանի յեզրն Բզնունեաց : Գտանի պստակ, և կաստաննոն որ է մաշկամիրգ, և մեղր անոյշ քան զամենայն երկրի և երկաթ : Ասեն թէ նհանգ կայ յԱրածանի, որպէս յԵփրատ, զոր Հաւաստի գիտեմք, կենդանի քարքաշամ զուգեալ, զարիւնն ծծեալ և թողեալ՝ զոր ոմանք ասեն թէ գազան է և չէ դև, այլ գազան զոր Յոհան վասն դստերն Հերովդիադայ ասէ թէ քան զնհանգսն ծովայինս արիւնարբու էր :

Ե. Աշխարհ Մոկք, յելից կան Աղձնեաց, 'ի լերինսն Տորոս : Ունի գաւառս ինն, զԻշայր, (զմիւս Իշայր), զԻշուց գաւառն, զԱռվենէից ձոր, զՎիջաց, զԱռանձնոկան Մոկաց գաւառն, գետն Որբ զԱրքայից գաւառ, զԱրգովտեաց ովիտ, Ջերմաձոր, յորում գետն Սերմ : Ունի ի մրգաց զարշատ և մանրագոր. և 'ի գազանաց՝ ինձ գեղեցկախայտ :

Զ. Կորճէք յելից կան Մոկաց : Ունի գաւառս մետասան. զԿորդուս, յորում Թման՝ առ Ասորեստանեաւ. զԿորդիս Վերի, զԿորդի Միջի, զԿորդիս Ներքի, զԱյտւանս, զԱյգառս, զՈթողանս, զՈրխանս, զՍարապոնիս, զՃաՀուկ, զՓոքր Աղբակք : Ունի զառիկ, և 'ի պտղոց շաՀդանակ, այսինքն գանգար փշոյ սերմն :

Է. Պարսկահայք յելից Կորճէից, և ցաղիտատաբար (?) մտանէ ընդ մէջ Ատրպատականի, և լերինն Տաւրոսի այնր կողման որ կոչի ԿոՀի—ՆիՀորական, մինչև ցԵրասխ գետ : Ունի գաւառս ինն՝ զԱյլլի, որ կոչի Կուռիճան, զՄարի գաւառ, զԹրաբի գաւառ, զԱրխի որ է Ովէա, զԱռնա, Տամբէթ, Զարէհւան, զՋարաւանդ, զՀեր : Ունի յերէոց զցիռ և զայծեամն :

Ը. Վասպուրական 'ի մտից Պարսկահայոց, և առ երի Կորճէից, ունի գաւառս երեսունեւՀինգ. զՌշտունիս՝ որ է ընդ Մոկաց և ծովուն Բզնունեաց, յորում կղզիք երկու, Ախթամար և Արտի և ցամաքակղզին Մանզկերտ, և Տոսպ յելից Բզնունեաց. զԲողոնիս, զԱրճիշաՀովիտ, զԴառնի մինչև ցգաւառն Կոգովիտ՝ որ յոտինն Ազատ Մասեաց. զԱռբերան՝ յելից ծովուն Բզնունեաց, յորում կղզիք Զքատան և Լիմն, ցամաքակղզին Ամիկ, և Առեստովան, ուստի ելանէ ձուկն. և յելից դոցա Բուժունի, զԱնձովացիս, զՏրպատունիս, զԵրուանդունիս, զԱռնոյ—ոտն, զՄարդաստան, զԱրտազ մինչ 'ի Կոգովիտ : Եւ յելից դոցա զԱկէ, զԱղբակ մեծ, զԱնձաՀիձոր, զԹոնրաւան, զՃւաշոտ մինչև ցԵրասխ, զԿրկճունիս, զՎժնունիս, զՊալունիս, զԳոկան, զԱղանդրոտ, զՊասպա—րունիս, զԱրտաշեզան, զԱրտաւանան, զԲագան, զԳաւեթան, զԳազրիկանս, զՏագրեանս, զՎաժնունիս, զՆախճաւան, յորում Հոմտոնուն քաղաք :

Թ. Աշխարհ Սիւնիք, ընդ մէջ կալով Երասխայ և Արձախայ, յելից Այրա—րատոյ. ունի գաւառս երկոտասան. զԵրնջակ, զՃաՀուկ, զՎայոցձոր, զԳեղար—քունի՝ Հոմանուն ծովոյն, զՍոսթս, զԱղաՀէճ, զԾղուկն, զՀաբանդ, զԲաղս, զՁորայ, զԱրևիս, զԿօսական մինչև ցՆակորդեան քաղաք, անցնիւր Հոմա—նուն գետովք, և Աղաւնոյ գետ : Լինի մուրտ և երերի և նուռն աղնիւ :

Ժ. Արցախ յերի կալով Սիւնեաց. ունի գաւառս երկոտասան. զՄիւսն Հաբանդ, զՎակունիս, զԲերձոր, զՄեծիրանս, Մեծկուանս, զՀարճղանս, զՄուխանս, զՊիանս, զՊածկանս, զՍիսականիս, զԿոտակ, զՔուստիփառէնս, զԿոխտ, յորում լինի քարախունկ. զայս ամենայն Աղուանք ունին Հանեալ 'ի Հայոց :

[ԺԱ. Փայտակարան յելից կայ Ուտիոյ առ Երասխաւ. գաւառս ունի երկո—տասան, զոր այժմ Ատրպատական ունի. Հրաքոտպերոժ, Վարդանակերտ, Եւթնփորակեան բագինք,Ռոտիբաղա, Բաղանռոտ, Առոսպիժան, Հանի, Աթլի, Բագաւան, Սպանդարանպերոժ, Որմզդպերոժ, Ալեւան : Լինի 'ի նմա բամբակ անբաւ, և գարի ինքնաբոյս :

ԺԲ. Ուտի առ մտից կայ Երասխայ ընդ մէջ Արցախայ և Կուր գետոյ. ունի գաւառս զոր Աղուանք ունին՝ ևթն. Արանռոտ, Տռի,Ռոտպացեան, Աղուէ,

Տուչքատակ, Գարդման, Շիկաշէն, Ուտի առանձնակ՝ յորում Պարտաւ քաղաք : Լինի 'ի նմա ձիթենի, վարընկենի, և 'ի Հաւուց՝ կատակ :]

ԺԳ. Աշխարհ Այրարատ 'ի մէջ կալով նախասացեալ աշխարհացդ, ունի դաւառս վեշտասան, ըստ Բարձր Հայոց, զԲագսեն, ընդ որ անցանէ Երասխ՝ գետացեալ 'ի Մուրցամօր գետոյ, որ բաժանէ զԳաբեղեանս 'ի Հարաւ, և զԱբեղեանս և զՀաւունիս՝ 'ի Հիւսիսի, գնալով ընդ մէջ Արշարունեաց. որոց Բագրևանդ և Ծաղկունի 'ի Հարաւոյ, և Վանանդ և Շիրակ 'ի Հիւսիսի. յորոց եկեալ գետն Ախուրէն՝ Հանդերձ Մեծագետովն, անցանելով յելից կուսէ Մաւրիկոպաւլսի, այսինքն Շիրակաշատ աւանի և Մրենոյ և Երուանդաշատ քաղաքի, իջանէ յԵրասխ : Եւ Արածանի զսկիզբն ունի 'ի Ծաղկոտնէ, 'ի տեղւոջէն որ կոչի Ոսկիք, և գնալով ընդ Հիւսիւսի պատելով զՆպատական լերամբն՝ առ Բագւան գեղւոջն, խառնի 'ի Բագրեւան գետ : Եւ Երասխ Թողլով զԱրմաւիր քաղաք 'ի Հիւսիւսի և զԱրագածոտն, յորմէ բղխեն աղբիւրք Մեծամօր գետոյ, և զինքն զԱրագած : Եւ է ըստ ելից Նիգ, յորմէ բղխեն աղբիւրք Քարսախ գետոյ. զինքն իսկ լեռնագագաթ Մասիս՝ 'ի Հարաւ Թողու Երասխ, յորոյ Թիկանց տարածեալ Կոգովիտ գաւառ. և անցանէ Երասխ յելից կուսէ Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի. յորում մայր եկեղեցեաց կաթողիկէ, և մարտիրոսուհեացն մատունքն. յորոց յելից բղխեն աղբիւրք Ասպահէն գետոյ որ է Խօզմօր, և խառնի 'ի Մեծամօր. և ապա յելից նորա գետն Ազատ, և արդարև ազատ. որոյ ակունքն բխեն 'ի Գեօղ լեառնէ, 'ի Սախուրակ տեղոյ, որ իջանելով ընդ Դուին, արբուցանէ զամենայն Ոստանն Հայոց, և անցեալ ընդ Հարաւ անկանի յԵրասխ. յորոց 'ի մէջ շինեալ է Արտաշատ քաղաք, ուր յառաջին ժամանակսն խառնուրդք Մեծամօրի. իսկ այժմն փոխեալ զգնացսն Մեծամօրայ՝ խառնի 'ի մտից կուսէ : Իսկ յելից կուսէ Դունայ են գաւառք Ուրծաձոր և Արածոյ կողմն, ընդ մէջ կալով Վայոց Ձորոյ և Շարուր դաշտի, ընդ որ Հոսի գետն Արտօնկն, առ Մարւնայ քաղաքով, անցանելով 'ի Հարաւ՝ խառնի յԵրասխ : Լինի որդն սիզաքերեալ յարմատոյ՝ առ 'ի զարդ կարմրութեան :

ԺԴ. Գուգարք 'ի մտից Ուտիացոց. ունի գաւառս ինն. զՁորոփոր, զԿողբափոր, զԾոբափոր, զՏաշիր, զԹռեղս, զԿանկարս, զՁովախս Վերի, զԱրտահան, զԿալարջս : Լինի անալութ, և Հաճար ծառ և սորովիլ և տօսախ : Ունին արդ Վիբք Հանեալ 'ի Հայոց :

ԺԵ. Տայք ունի գաւառս ութ. զԿող՝ յելից կուսէ, յորմէ բխեն աղբիւրք գէտոյն Կուրայ 'ի գեղջէն որ ասի Կրի–ակունք. և 'ի մուտս կոյս ըստ երկայնանիստ գաւառին գնայ և դառնայ առ Հիւսիսի, ընդ Արտահան, իջանէ ընդ Սամցխէ, և ապա դառնայ յելս՝ մինչ 'ի Կաղբից ծովն. իսկ ըստ մտից Կողայ՝ Բերդացփոր, Պարտիզացփոր, Ճակատք՝ յելս, և ըստ Հարաւոյ՝ Բուխա և Աղորդացփոր, իւրեանց գետակօք, որք յիրար անկեալ իջանեն 'ի Ցոհ. որոց ըստ մտից Արսեաց–փոր առ Պարխար լերամբն, ընդ որ իջանէ Ցոհ, գալով 'ի Սպերայ, անցանէ առ Թուխարս բերդով 'ի Կլարճս, և անտի յԵգր,

ընդ Նիգալ, ընդ Մրուղ և ընդ Մրիտ գաւառս՝ 'ի Պոնտոս ծով, զոր Եգերացիք կոչեն Ակամսիս, և Խաղտիք Կակամար ։ Լինի 'ի նմա թուղ, նուռն թթու, աղտոր, սորովիլ, պալախունկ և նշօշ ։

ԻԳ. Ցաղագս Ասորոց ։ Աշխարհ ընդհանուր Ասիոյ՝ Ասորիք, յելից կալով իւրեանց ծովուն հոմանուն պելագոսին. առեալ 'ի Սիսոնէ քաղաքէ և Կիլիկեայ դրանցն՝ մինչև ցԹռասիա գետամտունս, զոր կոչեն և Քոռսէաս, և անտի ցԻպպոս լեառն ըստ Հարաւոյ. և սահմանի Հրէաստանիւ և մասամբ ինչ առ Ապառաժ Արաբիա մինչև ցԱնապատն Արաբիա,մինչև ցկրկնուածն Եփրատայ՝ յարևելս կոյս, հանդէպ Թափսակ քաղաքի. և գետովն 'ի վեր մինչև ցԱմանոս լեառն, որ բաժանէ ըստ հիւսիսոյ զԿիլիկիա և զԿապադովկիա, այսինքն, զՓոքր Հայս՝ յԱսորոց, 'ի Կոմագէնէ աշխարհէ փոքուէ ։ …

ԻՁ. Աշխարհ Միջագետք՝ յելից Ասորւոց, յերի մեծ Հայոց. սահմանի նովաւ ըստ հիւսիւսոյ, Բաբիլոնիւն և Անապատաւն Արաբեաւ ։ Ունի լերինս երկու, ասէ Պտղոմէոս, զմինն կոչէ Սեգառոս, զոր ոչ գիտեմ ով է. և զմիւսն կոչէ Մասիոն, յորմէ ասէ երկու գետս բղխեալ, զմիւսն կոչէ Քաբառոն, զոր կարծեմ Խաբոր լինէլ. բայց սա ոչ 'ի լեռնէ այլ 'ի դաշտէ բխէ, հուպ յՌաշ—տինա քաղաք, որ անկանին յԵփրատ. և 'ի հոմանուն լեռնէ բխէ Թրթար, և գնայ դէպ ուղիղ յարեւելս, և միանայ յԵփրատ ։ Զայս երկու գետս գիտեմ Միջագետաց Ասորոց. և լերինս երկու զԿոհի—Շնգար, և զմիւս լեառն երկայն՝ յորում Մարդէ բերդ, և Տուռապդին գաւառ և Բզաբդէ. և երկու այլ փոքունք լերինք, մի Ամադ, քաղաք իւր կոչի Ազիսուն. և միւս լեառն կոչի Բեմադա ։ Եւ Եփրատ բաժանէ 'ի Միջագետաց զԱսորիս, և զԱնապատն Արաբիա և զԲաբիլացոց աշխարհ ։ Եւ Տիգրիս երթալով ընդ Հարաւ՝ պատահէ լերինն, և 'ի Հարաւոյ 'ի դառնալ յարեւելս կոյս՝ բաժանել 'ի Միջագետաց, թողու զհիւսիւսեաւ զԱղձնիս Հայոց, որ է Արձն, յորում քաղաք Կուտեմռան, որ է Քղմար, և Քիչ և Շուկառաբա. և ամենայն քամի լերանց Հայոց 'ի Դկլաթ իջանէ. նախ Քաղիրթ, որ բղխէ 'ի լերանց Սալնայ և Սանասնոյ, և իջեալ կորէ յիրերաց զՆփրկերտ և զՔղիմար, որով բաժանեցան Հոռոմք և Պարռիկք, և կոչի այժմ Շիթիթմա, որ է արիւնարբու ։ Եւ Դկլաթ երթայ ընդ Նինուէ. և պատահէ նախ քաղաքիկ մի որ կոչի Բղաթ, որ կոչի թուք, զի անդ ասեն թքանէլ զՅունան ։ Եւ է երկու աշխարհ ընդ մէջ Դկլաթայ և Եփրատայ նորաշէն 'ի Պարսից, Կաւատ և Կաշար ։ Եւ է Միջագետք ութ մասն երկայն, և երեք լայն ։ …

ԻԹ. Աշխարհ Պարսից ։ Պարսից աշխարհ ընդ չորս բաժանի այսպէս. Քուստի Խորասան, որ է կողմ արևմտեայ, յորում աշխարհք ինն. Մայմասպտան, Միհրանքատակ, Քարշկար, Պարմական, Երան, Սանքար—Կաւատ, Նոտարտայ, Շիրական, Մայձինըստեհ ։

Քուստի Նմռոջ, որ է կողմն միջօրէայ որ է Հարաւ, յորում աշխարհ իննեւ—տասն. Պադ, Խուժաստան, Ասպահան, Միեղնհագար, Անատրշիր, Կուրման,

Տուրան, Մագւիան, Սնդասրման, Սպետ, Վաշտ, Սակաստան, Ջապլաստան, Գեր, կղզի գոլով ծովուն. Մէչմակհիկ, և սա կղզի է. Մաազուն, Խուժիհրստան, Սպահլ, 'ի Հնդկաց հանեալ. Դեբուհըլ՝ նոյնպէս 'ի Հնդկաց հանեալ :

Քուսաի Խորասան, որ է կողմ արևելից. յորում է աշխարհ քսան և վեց, այսինքն զոր սահեմ. Ահմադան, Կոշմ, Վարկան, Ապրշահր, Մրվ Մռոտ, Հրա, Կատաշան, Նսաի, Միանակաբժին, Տաղկան, Գոզկան, Անդապդ, Վեպտ, Հրու, Մազամբ, Պարոզ, Նահրճիր, Դզինազակ, Վարճան, Մաշան, Գճակստան, Բակլիբամիկ, Դրմատավարիման, Կանչէր, Իբամիկան, Գոզբոն :

Քուստի Կապկոհ, որ է կողմն Կաւկասու լերանց, յորում են աշխարհ երե— քտասան. Ատրպատական, Արմն (որ է) Հայք, Վարջան՝ որ է Վիրք, Ռան՝ որ է Աղուանք, Բալասական, Սիսական. Առէ, Գեղան, Շանճան, Դլմունք, Դմբաւանդ, Տապրըստան, Ռւան, Ամլ, զոր պատմել առաջի կայ մեզ [9] :

C. Armenian Geography - Short version [10]

ԺԹ. Երկրորդ Հայք յելից կալով Լիկիոյ առ Տաւրոս լերամքն, ունի լերինս երիս, և գետս չորս, և դրունս երկու ելանելոյ Ասորւոց :

Ի. Առաջին Հայք յելից կալով առաջին Կապադովկիոց առ երի երկրորդ Հայոց, և սահմանի յելից Եփրատայ. և լեառն ունի զԱռգէոս, և գետ երեսուն՝ զԱլիս և այլ մանունս :

ԻԱ. Երրորդ Հայք են՝ որ կան յարևելից Կապադովկիոյ, և երկայն տարածի մինչև ցԵփրատ. և ունի այլ գետս երկու, և լերինս բազումս մեծամեծս քսան և երկու : ···

ԻԴ. Կողքիսէ, այս ինքն է Եգեր, յելից կալով Պոնտոս ծովուն առ երի Սարմատիոյ առ Վրօք և մեծ Հայովք. և ունի Եգեր փոքր աշխարհս չորս. զՄիւնիսա, զԵուփ, զԽազիւ, զՃանեթ որք են Խաղտիք : Ունի լերինս բազումս, և գետս և քաղաքս և բերդս, և այլ գաւառս և գեղաքաղաքս և վաճառատեղս :

ԻԵ. Վեռիա, այս ինքն է Վիրք, յելից կալով Եգերայ առ Սարմատեաւ առ Կովկասու մինչև ցԱղուանից սահմանն առ Կուր գետով : Եւ գաւառք են 'ի Վիրք այսոքկի. Կղարջք, Արտահան, Շաւշեդք, Ջաւախք, Սամցխէ, Աճարա, Գորգովաթիսխ, Տառիասխք, Մանգղեացփոր, Քուիշափոր, Բողնո— փոր, Թռեղք, Կանգարք, Տաշիր և Աչայի և Գուան, Երիսխք, Քուղիդ, Կոսխ, Սացխումէթ, Խանիցխ. և քաղաք Տփղիս, Շամշուղէ, Մցխիթայ ուր խաչն է : Ունի գետս լի ձկամբք :

ԻԶ. Աղբանիա, այս ինքն է Աղուանք, յելից կալով Վրաց առ երի Սարմա— տիոյ առ Կաւկասաւ մինչև ցԿասբից ծովն և ցՀայոց սահմանսն առ Կուր

[9] On the *Armenian Geography*, its versions and problems, *see* Eremyan, *Armenia*, Hewsen, *Armenia*, and *above* Chapter XI,nn. a-1.

[10] *Arm. Geogr.*, II, pp. 603-611 = Saint-Martin, *Mémoires*, II, pp. 318/9-374/5.

գետով ։ Ունի դաշտս արգաւանդս, քաղաքս և բերդս և գեղաքաղաքս, գետս բազումս, եղեգունս հզօրս ։ Եւ գաւառք են այսոքիկ. Ենխի, Բեխ, Քամբէճան, Շաքէ, Ոստան, Իմարծպան, դաշտ 'ի Բաղասական. և այլ գաւառս զորս 'ի Հայոց հանեալ է, Շիկաշէն, Գարդման, Կողթ, Ջաւէ, և այլ քսան գաւառ մինչև ցխառնումն Երասխայ 'ի Կուր գետ ։

Իէ. Մեծ Հայք յելից կալով Կապադովկիոյ և փոքր Հայոց առ Եփրատ գետով մերձ 'ի Տաւրոս լեառն, որ բաժանէ զնա 'ի միջագետաց. և 'ի հարաւոյ սահմանի ասորեստանիւ, և դառնայ առ Ատրպատականաւ ընդ Մարս մինչև 'ի մուտս Երասխայ 'ի Կասբից ծով. իսկ ըստ հիւսիսոյ առ երի կայ Աղուանից և Վրաց և Եգերայ մինչև ցնոյն դարձուածն Եփրատայ 'ի հարաւ կոյս ։ Եւ ունի Հայք լերինս անուանիս, և գետս մեծամեծս և մանունս, և ծովակս վեց ։ Եւ ունի մեծ Հայք փոքր աշխարհս հնգետասան՝ որ են այսոքիկ. Բարձր Հայք, որ է կողմ Կարնոյ, չորրորդ Հայք, Աղձնիք, Տուրուբերան, Մոկք, Կորճայք, Պարսկահայք, Վասպուրական, Արցախ, Սիւնիք, Փայտակարան, Ուտիա, Գուգարք, Տայք, Այրարատ ։ Արդ կամիմ զդոսա մանրամասնաբար պատմել, թէ և սակաւ ինչ աշխատիցիմ 'ի գիր և 'ի քարտէս ։

Արդ ունի Բարձր Հայք գաւառս ինն. Դարանաղի, Աոիւծ, Մընձուր, Եկեղեաց, Մանանաղի, Դերջան, Սպեր, Շատգոմք, Կարին ։ Եւ ըստ անուանդ արդարև բարձր է Հայք քան զամենայն երկիր. քանզի ընդ չորս կողմունս գետս արձակէ ։ Ունի և լերինս երիս, էրէս բազումս, և հաւս պիտանիս, և ջերմուկս և աղտս, և զամենայն պարարտութիւն, և քաղաք զԹէոդուպօլիս ։

Չորրորդ Հայք յերի կայ բարձր Հայոց. և գաւառք են 'ի նմա ութ. Խորձէն, Հաշտեանք, Պաղնատուն, Բալահովիտ, Ծոփք, Հանձիթ, Դորեք, Դէգիք ։ Ունի բերդս և գետս և լերինս և բիւրեղ. ունի և էրէս և հաւս և ձկունս, և 'ի գազանաց զառեծ ։

Աղձնիք առ Տիգրիս գետով կայ. և գաւառս ունի տասն, զԱրզն, զՆփրկերտ, զՔեղ, զԿեթիկ, զՏատիկ, զԱզնուաձոր, զԽերհեթս, զԴզեղ, զՍանոձոր, զՍասունս ։ Ունի նաւթ և երկաթ առաւել, և զղթոր, և հաւ՝ դեզհուկ ։

Տուրուբերան յերի կայ չորրորդ Հայոց. գաւառք են 'ի նմա վեշտասան, Խոյթ, Ասպակունիք, Տարօն, Աշմունիք, Մարդաղի, Դասնաւորք, Տուարածա—տափ, Դալառ, Հարք, Վարաժնունիք, Բզնունիք, Երեւարք, Աղիովիտ, Ապահունիք, Կոր, Խորխոռունիք ։ Ունի և ծով զԲզնունեացն յերկայն հաիւր մղոն, և 'ի լայն վաթսուն ։ Ունի և գազպէն և մեղր և մաշկամիրգ, և սպիտակ նաւթ, և երկաթ ։

Մոկք յելից կալով Աղձնեաց յամուրս Տաւրոս լերինն, գաւառս ունի ինն. զԻշայր, զմիւս Իշայր, զԻշոց գաւառ, զԱռուենից ձոր, զ Միջա, զառանձնակ Մոկս, զԱրքայից գաւառ, զԱրգաստովիտ, զՋերմաձոր ։ Եւ ունի 'ի մրգոց գահրշակ և մանրագոր, և 'ի գազանաց զինձ գեղեցկախայտուց, և 'ի հաւուց զկաքաւ ։

Կորճայք յելից կայ Մոկաց առ ասորեստանիւ. գաւառս ունի մետասան. զԿորդուս, զԿորդրիս վերին, զԿորդրիս միջին, զԿորդրիս ներքին, զԱյտուանս, զԱյգառս, զՄոթողանս, զՈրսիրանս, զԿարաթունիս, զՃահուկ, զփոքր Աղբակ: Ունի զառիկ, և 'ի պտղոց շահնդակ :

Պարսկահայք յելից կայ Կորճէից առ Ատրպատականաւ, և ունի գաւառս ինն. Այլի՝ որ է Կուռիճան, Մարի, Թրափի, Ացուերս, Ըռնա, Տամբերս, Ջարեհաւան, Ջարաւանդ, Հեր : Ունի էրէ՝ զցիռ և զայծեամն :

Վասպուրական 'ի մտից կայ Պարսկահայոց և առ երի Կորճէից. 'ի նմա գաւառք են երեսուն և վեց, Ռշտունիք, Տոսբ, Բուդունիք, Արճիշակովիտ, Աղովիտ, Կուղանովիտ, Առբերանի, Դառնի, Բուժունիք, Առնոյոտն, Անձեւացիք, Ատրպատունիք, Երիթունիք, Մարդաստան, Արտազ, Ակէ, Աղբակ մեծ, Անձախաձոր, Թոռնաւան, Ճուաշ, Ռոտկրճունիք, Մեծնունիք, Պալունիք, Գուկան, Աղուանդրոտ, Պատսպարունիք, Արտաշէզեան, Արտաւանեան, Բաքան, Գաբիթեան, Գազրիկան, Տանկրիայն, Վարաժնունիք, Գողթն գինէւէտ, Նախճուան՝ յորում քաղաքն, և Մարանդ :

Սիւնիք յելից կայ Այրարատոյ ընդ մէջ Երասխայ և Արցախայ. ունի գաւառս երկոտասան. Երնջակ, Ճահուկ, Վայոց ձոր, Գեղաքունի և ծոփս, Սոտք, Աղահէճք, Ծղակ, Հաբանդ, Բաղք, Ձորք, Արեւիք, Կուսական : Լինի 'ի նմա մուրտ և գերերի և նուռն, և ամուր տեղիք :

Արցախ յերի կայ Սիւնեաց. գաւառք են 'ի նմա երկոտասան, զոր Աղուանք ունին. Միւս Հաբանդ, Վակունիք, Բերդաձոր, Մեծկուանք, Մեծիրանք, Հարճլանք, Մուխանք, Պիանք, Պանծկանք, Սիսական ոստանն, Քուստիփառէս, Կողթ՝ յորում լինի քարախունկ :

Փայտակարան յելից կայ Ուտիոյ առ Երասխաւ. գաւառս ունի երկոտասան, զոր այժմ Ատրպատական ունի. Հրաքոտպերոժ, Վարդանակերտ, Եւթնփորակեան բագինք, Ռոտիբաղա, Բաղանռոտ, Առոսպիժան, Հանի, Աթլի, Բագաւան, Սպանդարանպերոժ, Որմզդպերոժ, Ալեւան : Լինի 'ի նմա բամբակ անբաւ, և գարի ինքնաբոյս :

Ուտի առ մտից կայ Երասխայ ընդ մէջ Արցախայ և Կուր գետոյ. ունի գաւառս զոր Աղուանք ունին՝ եւթն. Արանռոտ, Տռի, Ռոտպացեան, Աղուէ, Տուչքատակ, Գարդման, Շիկաշէն, Ուտի առանձնակ՝ յորում Պարտաւ քաղաք : Լինի 'ի նմա ձիթենի, վարընկենի, և 'ի հաւուց՝ կատակ :

Գուգարք 'ի մտից կայ Ուտիոյ, և ունի գաւառս ինն զոր Վիրք ունին. Ձորոփոր, Ծոբոփոր, Կողբոփոր, Տաշիր, Թռեղք, Կանգարք, Արտահան, Ջաւախք, Կղարջք : Լինի 'ի նմա անալութ, և հաճարածառ և սերկևիլ և տօսախ :

Տայք առ երի կայ Գուգարաց, ամրոցօք և բերդօք կառուցեալ. և ունի գաւառս ինն. զԿող զԲերդացփոր,, զՊարտիզացփոր, զՃակս, զԲուխա, զՈքաղէ, զԿափոր, զԱսեացփոր : Եւ լինի 'ի Տայս թուզ և նուռն, աղտոր, սերկևիլ, պտղախունկ և նուշ :

Այրարատ 'ի մէջ կայ յառաջասացեալ աշխարհացդ. և գաւառք են 'ի նմա քսան. Բասեան, Գաբեղեանք, Աբեղեանք, Վահաւունիք, Արշարունիք, Բագրեւանդ, Ծաղկոտն, Շիրակ, Վանանդ, Արագածոտն, Ճակատք, Մասեացոտն, Կոգովիտ, Աշոցք, Նիգ, Կոտայք, Մազազ, Վարաժնունիք, ոստանն Դըւնայ՝ մինչև ցղաշտն Շարուր : Եւ ունի Այրարատ լերինս և դաշտս, և զամենայն պարարտութիւն, և ծովակն Գայլատոյ, և որդն յորմատոյ սիզոյ առ 'ի զարդ կարմրութեան գունոյ. և զմայր եկեղեցեացն 'ի Թագաւորաքնակ և յարքայանիստ Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի :

Ահա կատարեցան ամենայն Հայք : …

ԼԱ. Միջագետք յեւլից կալով Ասորւոց և Եփրատ գետոյ, Ասորեստանիւ առ Դկղաթ գետով, յերի կալով մեծ Հայոց. և ունի լերինս երկու, և գետս երկու, և քաղաքս բազումս, յորոց մի է Ուռհա՝ ուր անձեռագործ պատկերն է փրկչին : …

ԼԵ. Մարք, որ կոչին Քուստիկ Քապկողք, յեւլից կալով Հայոց և առ երի Կասբից ծովուն. և ունի աշխարհս զայսոսիկ. զԱտրպատական, զՌէ, զԳելան, զՄուկան, զԴիլումն, զԱհմադան, զԴամբվար, զՏապարաստան, զԱմեղ, զՌուէղ : Ունի լերինս և գետս, և զծովակն որ կոչի Կապուտան՝ ուր ղքուռամղիղն գործեն : Ունի քաղաքս բազումս :

ԼԶ. Արուաստան, որ կոչի Ասորեստան՝ այս ինքն Մուծղ, յեւլից կալով Միջագետաց առ երի Հայոց. ունի լերինս և գետս, և քաղաք զՆինուէ :

ԼԷ. Եղիմացիք, որ կոչին Քուստիկք խուժաստան, յեւլից կալով Դկղաթայ և 'ի մտից՝ Պարսից : Եւ ունին Եղիմացիքն աշխարհս փոքունս զայսոսիկ. զԽուժաստան, զՄայպոպան զՄիհրան, զՔրտակ, զՔաշքար, զԴարմական, զԵրանաստան, զԿարկաւատ, զՆոտատր, զՇիրական, զՄարձին, զԱրհեն : Ունի գետս երիս, քաղաքս հինգ՝ յորոց մին է Գունդիշապուհ, յորում զազնիւ շաքարն գործեն. և կղզիս երկու հանդէպ իւր 'ի պարսկային ծոցին :

ԼԸ. Պարսք, որ կոչին Քուստի Նեմռողք, յեւլից կալով խուժաստանի և առ երի Մարաց, ունի յինքեան աշխարհս փոքունս զայս. զՊարս, զԱսպահան, զՄէշուն, զՀակար, զԱնայիդ, զԿրման, զԿուրան, զՄակուրան, զՍնդ, զՄրան, զՊէտվաշտ, զՍագաստան, զԱպլաստան, զԳեր, զՄեղ, զՄահիկ, զՄաուն, զԽոճէհրաստան, զՊալհ : Ունի գետս և կղզիս և քաղաքս բազումս, յորոց մի է Ռէշիր 'ի Պահրսան քաղաք՝ յորում ազնիւ մարգարիտն ելանէ, և գոհարք :

ԼԹ. Արիք, որ կոչին Քուստի Խորասանք, յեւլից կալով Մարաց և Պարսից մինչև 'ի հնդիկս և յերի Վրկանի ծովուն. և աշխարհք են Արեաց այսոքիկ. Կոշմ, Վրկան, Ապրշահր, Մրում, Արուաստհքև, Կատեշան, Նմանիմակ, Բժին, Սաղկան, Գոզկան, Անապլահ, Հրում, Ջամ, Պերոզ, Նախճեր, Դզինուազակ, Վարջան, Մանշան, Ջակստան, Բահլ որ են Պարթևք, Գովմատ, Վարիմանակ, Շիրի, Բարիկան, Դովբոն : Ունի Արիք լերինս և գետս բա—

զումս ։ Լինի Հրամուշկ չպէտ և ոչ ազնիւ ։ Եւ կղզի մի է Հանդէպ Արեաց 'ի Հնդկաց ծովուն, յորում Թզուկք լինին երեքթզեան Հասակաւ, որք պատե— րազմին ընդ խորդուց Հաւուց վասն ճարակելոյ նոցա զանդաստանս Թզկացն ։ [11]

D. ITINERARIUM ANTONINI [12]

1. *Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti ...*

	A Sebastia Cocuso per Melitenam	294 sic
	Blandos	24
177.	Euspoena	28
	Arahis	24
	Ad Praetorium	28
	Pisonos	32
	Melitena	(32) 22
178.	Arcas	26
	Dandaxina	24
	Osdara	24
	Ptandari	24
	Cocuso	38

	Item a Sebastia Cocuso per Caesaream	257 sic
179.	Scanatu	28
	Malandara	30
	Armaxa	28
	Eulepa	24
	Caesarea	16
180.	Artaxata	24
	Coduzalaba	19
	Comana	24
	Ptandari	24
	Cocuso	38

	Item a Sebastia Cocuso per compendium	206 sic
181.	Tonosa	50
	Ariarathia	50
	Coduzalaba	20
	Comana	24
	Ptandari	24
	Cocuso	38

	Item ab Arabisso per compendium Satalam	268 sic
182.	Tonosa	28
	Zoana	25
	Gundusa	23
	Eumeis	30
	Zara	18
	Dagalasso	20
183.	Nicopoli	24
	Olotoedariza	24
	Ad Dracones	26
	Haza	24
	Satala leg. XV Apollinaris	26

[11] *See above*, n. 9.

[12] Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. lix-lx.

184. A Germanicia per Dolicham et Zeugma Edissam usque 87 sic
Sicos Bassilisses 20
Dolicha 10
185. Zeugma 12
Bemmaris 20
Edissa 25

186. Item a Gemanicia per Samosatam Edissa 70 sic
In Catabana 15
Nisus 16
Tharse 14
Samosata leg. VII 13
187. Edissa 12

Item ab Antiochia Emesa 133 sic
Niccaba 25
Caperturi 24
Apamia 20
Larissa 16
188. Epiphania 16
Arethusa 16
Emesa 16

Item ab Arabisso Muzana 48 sic
In medio 22
Muzana 26

Item a Gemanicia Edissa 84 sic
Sicos Basilisses 15
189. Dolicha 15
Zeugma 14
Cannaba 13
In medio 12
Edissa 15

Item a Cyrro Edissa 92 sic
Ciliza sive Urmagiganti 12
190. Abarara 10
Zeugma 22
Bemmari Canna 40
Bathnas Mari 8
Edissa 10

Item a Nicopoli Edissa 137 sic
Aliaria 13
Gerbedisso 15
191. Dolicha 20
Zeugma 24
Canaba 25
In medio 22
Edissa 18

Item a Callicome Edissa 85 sic
Bathnas 24
Hierapoli 21
192. Thilaticomum 10
Bathnas (Bathas) 15
Edissa ... 15

Item a Travia Sebastiam 161 sic
204. Corniaspa 21
Parbosena 25
Sibora 25
Agriane 20
Simos 30
Sebastia 40

Item a Travia per Sebastopolim Sebastiam usque 166 sic

205. Mogaro	30
Dorano	24
Sebastopoli	40
Verisa	24
Fiarasi	12
Sebastia	36

Item ab Ancyra per Nysam Caesaream usque 198 sic

Gorbeus	24
206. Orsologiaco	18
Aspona	20
Parnasso	22
Nysa	24
Osiana	32
Saccasena	28
Caesarea	30

Item a Caesarea Satala 324 sic

Eulepa	16
Armaxa	24
Marandara	28
Scanatus	39
207. Sebastia	28
Camisa	27
Zara	18
Dagalasso	20
Nicopoli	24
Olotoedariza	24
Dracontes	26
Haza	24
Satala	26

Item a Satala Melitena per ripam Samosatam usque 341 sic

Suissa	17
208. Arauracos	28
Carsagis	24
Sinervas	28
Analiba	28
Zimara	16
209. Teucila	16
Sabus	28
Dascusa	16
Ciaca	32
Melitena	18
210. Maisena	12
Lacotena	28
Perre	26
Samosata	24

Item a Caesarea Melitena 228 sic

Artaxata	24
Coduzalaba	24
Comana	(16) 26
Siricis	24
Ptandaris	16
Arabisso	12
211. Osdara	28
Dandaxena	(34) 24
Arcas	22
Melitena	28

Item a Ceasarea Anazarbo 211 sic

Arassaxa	24
Coduzalaba	24
Comana	24

Siricis	16
Cocuso	25
Laranda	18
212. Badimo	18
Praetorio	22
Flaviada	22
Anazarbo	18

Item a Sebastia Cocuso 206 sic

In medio	25
Tonosa	25
In medio	25
Ariarathia	25
Coduzalaba	20
Comana	24
Ptandari	24
213. Cocuso	38

Item a Nicopoli Arabisso 226 sic

Dagalasso	24
Zara	20
Camisa	18
Sebastia	24
in medio	25
Ariarathia	25
Coduzalaba	20
Comana	24
Ptandari	24
Arabisso	22

214. Item a Sebastopoli Caesaream usque 217 sic

Verisa	24
Siara	12
Sebastia	36
Scanatus	28
Malandara	39
Armaxa	28
Eulepa	24
Caesarea	26

Item a Cocuso Arabisso 52 sic

Ptandari	28
Arabisso	24

Item a Cocuso Melitenam 153 sic

215. Ptandari	28
Arabisso	22
Asdara	28
Dandaxena	24
Areas	22
Melitena	28

Item a Melitena Samosata 91 sic

Mesena	12
Lacotena	28
Perre	27
Samosata	24

Item a Nicopoli Satalam 122 sic

Olotoedariza	24
Carsat	24
216. Arauracos	24
Suissa	24
Satala	26

Item a Trapezunta Satalam 135 sic

Ad Vicensimum	20	Sedissa (fines Ponti)	17
Zigana	32	Domana	24
217. Thia	24	Satala ... [13]	18

E. Tabula Peutingeriana

viii. *Diocesis Ponticae* [14]

xci

Calcedonia - Trapezunte - Artaxata - Sanora

Calcedonia ...		[Hippus]	4
		Stempeo	[12]
		[Lamupulis]	4
		Sebastopolis	60
		Ad fontem felicem	35
		Ad mercurium	45
Trapezunte	24	*Caspiae*	5
Nyssilime	18	Apulum	7
Opiunte	15	Pagas	40
Reila	18	Gaulita	14
Ardinco	16	Misium	10
Athenis	9	Condeso	14
Agabes	11	Strangira	30
[Pyxites fl.	16]	*Artaxata*	20
Cissa	16	Geluina	24
Apsaro	6	Sanora	12
Portualtu	12	Lalla	10
Apasidam	[12]	Ugubre	40
[Ad Isidem]	3	*Teleda*	44
Nigro	6	Philado	?
Phasin	3	[*Cyropolis*]	—
Cariente	16	*Lazo*	16
Chobus	19	Satara	18
Sicanabis	4	Bustica	24
Cyanes	12	*Sanora*	—
Tassiros	[18]		

[13] *See below* Appendix IVE, n. 17.

[14] Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 631-684.

xciii

Nicomedia - Amasia - Neocesaria - Polemonion

Nicomedia ...	
Amasia	15
Palalce	12
Coloe	10
Pidis	16
Mirones	10
Neocesaria	38
Bartae	(?) 11
Polemonio	

xcv

Ancyra - Tavio - Nicopoli - Satala - Artaxata

Ancyra ...	
Tavio	
Tomba	22
Evogni	[40]
[Sebastopolis	20]
ad stabulum	22
Mesyla	16
Comana pontica	16
Gagonda	5
Magabula	25
Danae	25
Speluncis	[12] (?)
Mesorome	13
[*Nicopoli*	14
—	[12]
[Olotoedariza]	[26]
Draconis	13
Cunissa	10
Hassis	13
Ziziola	12
Satala	20
Salmalasso	20
Darucinte	20
Aegea	15
Lucus Basaro	22
Sinara	15
Calcidava	12
Autisparate	15
Tharsidarate	20
Datamisa	10
Adconfluentes	30
Barantea	26
Andaga	12
Armanas	17
Chaldas	24
Colchion	24
Raugonia	24
Hariza	24
Coloceia	33
Paracata	23
Artaxata	

xcvi

Amasia - Tavio - Zela - Neocesaria

Amasia ...	
Tavio	36
Rogonorum	36
Aegonne	28
Ptemari	26
Zela	32
Stabulum	22
Seramisa	16
Neocesaria	

xcvii

Polemonio - Nicopoli - Zimara

Polemonio	—
Sauronisena	16
Matuasco	18
Anniaca	18
Nicopoli	21
Ole oberda	15
Caleorsissa	24
Analiba	15
Zimara	

xcviii

Trapezunte - Satala - Melitene - Samosata

Trapezunte	20
Magnana	10
Gizenenica	18
Bylae	6
Frigdarium	8
Patara	14
Medocia	12
Salonenica	18
Domana	18
Satala	
Draconis	
Haris	17
Elegarsina	8
Bubalia	27
Zimara	18
Zenocopi	18
Vereuso	13
Saba	18
Daseusa	18
Hispa	18
Arangas	9
Ciaca	28
Melentensis	8
Corne	14
Metita	12
Glaudia	46
Barsalium	9
Heba	30
Charmodara	12
Samosata	

ix. *Diocesis Asianae* [15]

cv

Ephesus - Cesarea - Sebasteia - Nicopoli

Ephesum ...	
Mazaca-Cesarea	13
Sorpara	14
Foroba	14
Armaza	16
Eudagina	32
Megalasso	32
Comaralis	22
Sevastia	23
Comassa	15
Doganis	25
Megalasso	22
Mesorome	13
Nicopoli	

[15] Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 724-748.

cvii	*Nisibi*

Tavio - Cesarea - Melitene - Amida - Nisibis

Tavio ...	
Mazaca-Cesarea	24
Sinispora	13
Arasaxa	10
Larissa	23
in cilissa	20
Comana capadocia	24
Arsanio	24
Castabola	20
Pagrum	—
Arabissus	30
Arcilapopoli	30
Singa	14
Arega	12
Nocotesso	24
Lagalasso	18
Sama	13
Melentensis	8
Ad aras	9
Thirtonia	[ca. 28]
—	8
Mazara	16
Colchis	13
Coruilu	14
Arsinia	14
Coissa	16
[*Amida*]	13
Sardebar	10
Arcaiapis	14
Sammachi	17
Aque Frigide (Meiacarire)	—
Arcamo	30
Thamaudi	16

cviii

Sardebar - Tigranocerta - Raugonia

Sardebar	10
Adipte	12
Sitae	10
Thalbasaris	15
[Martyropolis] (?)	[22]
Tigranocarten	30
Zanserio	20
Cymiza	22
Dyzanas	27
Patansana	26
Vastauna	32
Molchia	26
Dagnevana	15
Flegoana	15
Isumbo	[17]
[Nasabi]	[24]
[Anteba]	[24]
[Sorue]	[27]
[Catispi]	[39]
Raugonia	

cviii*a*

Amida - Tigranocerta

Amida	27
Ad tygrem	13
Nararra	45
Colchana	15
Tigranocarten	

x. 2. *Parthia* [16]

xcv

Artaxata - Ecbatana

Artaxata	39
Catispi	27
Sorvae	[24]
Anteba	24
Nasabi	17
Gobdi	24
Filadelfia	20
Trispeda	45
Peresaca	4
Arabum	7
Eneca	4
Rhasum	4
Ad tomenta	4
Naucanio	6
Nicea Nialia	50
Ecbatanis Partiorum ... [17]	

F. Tovma Arcruni - History [18]

The divisions of Vaspurakan

III, xxix... *Յետ մահուանն Աշոտի··· առնու զիշխանութիւնն Վասպուրական տէրութեանս Գագրիկ եղբայր նորին ···*

Եւ զբոլոր երկիրս իւրեանց տէրութեանն բաժանեցին յերկուս մասունս ։ Յելս կոյս և ի մուտս որ առ հիւսիւսի զհայեցածն բերէ՝ առեալ էր ի բաժնէ Գագրիկ իշխանի, զՃուաշ գաւառն և զԹոռնաւան, Արտազ, Մարդաստան, Գառնի, Առբերանի, Աղանդրոտ, Բաղիլովիտ, Պալունիք և Մեծնունիք, Տոսպոշտունիք, Բոգունիք, Գուգան գաւառ Արտաշէսեան ։ Այսոքիկ գաւառք անուանիք, զոր յառաջին ժամանակս իւրոյ իշխանութեանն սեփհականս իւր արարեալ ունէր Հայրն նենգութեան Մարդպետն կոչեցեալ, զոր և վեր անդ յիշատակեալ ցուցաք զորպիսութիւն, և մանաւանդ քաղաքն Շամիրամայ Հոչակելին և յոյժ փառաւորագոյնն յամենայն կողմանց Վասպուրականի ։

Իսկ Գուրգինի մարզպանի Հայոց առեալ էր ի բաժնի յելս կոյս և որ ելանէ ի Հարաւակողմն, զԱնձահից ձոր, զԿրճունիս, զԿկուղան ովիտ, և զբուն զՄարդաստան գաւառ, զԱրճիշակովիտ, զոտն Առնոյ, զԱղբագ Մեծ և զՓոքր, Ակէ, Տամբէր, Տագրեան, Ըռնայ, Ջարեհաւան ։

16 Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 781-782.

17 On the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*, *see* Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. xiii-lv *et passim*, *cf*. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 62 sqq., and Manandian, *Tabula Peutingeriana, Routes, Trade.*

18 *Tov. Arc.*, pp. 251-252.

Բայց զՏամբէր և զԸռնայն և զՋարէհաւան դաւառ հանեալ էր ի Պարսկահայոց, իսկ զՆախճաւան քաղաք և զԳողթն դաւառ հանեալ էր ի Վասպուրականէ բազում ժամանակօք յառաջ, ՄԺԱ ամօք, յամի այրման եկեղեցւոյն Գրիգորի և վտանգաւոր մահու զօրացն Հայոց ։ Իսկ զԳողթն դաւառ ի ժամանակի կատարման սրբոյն Վահանայ, յամի ՃՁՁ Թուականութեանց, յորում ամի կատարեցաւ սուրբն Վահան, որ էր որդի Խոսրովայ Գողթան տեառն ։

V. TOPONYMY

This appendix is an attempt at a partial synthesis of the geographical information found in Adontz's work together with the identifications of later scholars and the modern forms of toponyms. The material is presented in tabular form, with all the equivalents of a given toponym, ancient (Armenian and Classical) or modern, being given whenever possible. Every equivalent form of a toponym has been treated as a separate entry and provided with the available literary and map references relevant to it. Hence, all alternatives should be consulted in order to obtain the complete information. Variant forms, however, are given as part of their main entry without additional information, although, in the case of provinces, an attempt has been made to indicate the source in which the variant form occurs. Scholars continue to disagree as to the identification and position of a number of localities, so that no attempt has been made to reconcile divergent opinions which will be found in the references.

The main works consulted for this appendix have been: Eremyan, *Hayastan əst " Ašχarhaçoyç "* [E]; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* [T], (on the provinces), and the Department of the Interior's *Gazetteer No. 46 : Turkey* [G]; The maps used were : Eremyan's *Hayastan əst " Ašχarhaçoyç "*, and the *Atlas of the Armenian SSR* [AA], (for Armenian toponyms); Calder and Bean's *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* [CM], and the *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas I* [HW] (for Classical names); and the *USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart* [U] (for the modern equivalents). Miller's *Itineraria Romana* [M] is the references given for the stations in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Other references are given only where particularly relevant or if they are not included in the corresponding notes. References to Lynch's and Kiepert's maps have been omitted as incorporated in Adontz's work, and reflecting conditions existing in 1908 rather than at the present time.

Of necessity, references have been highly selective, or even arbitrary, and severely limited, since any pretence at exhaustiveness would have expanded this appendix beyond manageable size and far transcended its modest scope. The shortcomings of such a limited attempt

are far too obvious to require comment; the most that can be hoped here, is that this listing will provide some minimal assistance to the reader faced with the chaotic state of Anatolian toponymy at the present time.

A. PROVINCES

The following abbreviations have been used in this section in addition to those given in the Bibliography and Notes :

Agat'.	Agat'angełos, *Patmut'iwn* [*History*], 3rd ed. (Venice, 1930).
Aed.	Procopius, " On Buildings ", *Works*, H.B. Dewing and G. Downey edd. and trans (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1940), VII.
A.M.	Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Surviving Books of the History*, J.C. Rolfe ed. and trans (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1950).
de B.	*Johannis Episcopi Ephesi ... Commentaria de Beatis Orientalibus ...*, W.J. van Douwen and J.P.N. Land trans. (Amsterdam, 1889).
B.L.	*Girk' T'łt'oç* [*The Book of Letters*] (Tiflis, 1901).
CJ	" Codex Justinianus ", P. Krüger ed. in *CJC*, II, 8th ed. (1906).
C.Th.	*Codex Theodosianus*, T. Mommsen ed. (Berlin, 1905).
D.A.I.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, G. Moravscik et al. edd., (Budapest-London, 1949, 1962).
E.	Eremyan, S.T., *Hayastanə əst* " *Ašχarhaçoyç* " [*Armenia According to the* " *Armenian Geography* "], (Erevan, 1963).
G.C.	Georgius Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, H. Gelzer ed. (Leipzig, 1890).
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N.H.	Pliny, *The Natural History*, H. Rackam ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1938-1965).
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St. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika*, A. Meinicke ed. (Berlin, 1849).
S.O.	Chabot, J.B., *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902).

T	Toumanoff, C., *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963).
de Th.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematibus*, A. Pertusi ed. (Vatican city, 1952).
VL	" Laterculus Veronensis " in Seeck, *Not. Dig.*
X	Xenophon, *The Anabasis of Cyrus*, C.L. Brownson ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1950-1961).
ZM	Zacharias Rhetor, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, E.W. Brooks trans. (Paris, 1921).
(d.)	diocese.
(s.)	strategy.
(th.)	theme.

The coordinates given in Armenian letters in Eremyan's map have been transcribed into Latin characters, *E.g.* Բ-4 = B-4.

Coordinates are invariably given in the customary order: Latitude-Longitude.

For a translation of Eremyan's tables, *Armenia*, pp. 116-120; *see* Hewsen, *Armenia*, pp. 326-342.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Abaran					.*See* Aparan.
Abasgia	Abasgoi Abazgoi al-Abhāz Bazgun	Awazov ašχarh Abkhazia	E41, 101		≠ Basgun. T. 60 n. 58, 209, 266, 405 nn. 52, 54, 496-497. *See* Ch. XII, n. 14.
Abasgoi					.*See* Abasgia.
Abazgoi					.*See* Abasgia.
Abełeank'			E.31, 118-xv/3 B-5		T. 220.
al-Abhāz					.*See* Abasgia.
Abkhazia		Abasgia			.*See* Abasgia.
Aboçi					.*See* Ašoçk'
Ačara					.*See* Adzharia.
Acisenē					.*See* Akilisenē.
Açwerk	Arasχ Arisi	Ovēa	E.38, 117-vii/4 D-6		
Adiabena					.*See* Adiabenē.
Adiabenē	Adiabena	Hedayab Nor Širakan Median March Kadmē ?	E.49, 72	P. V, xvii, 4 S. XI, v, 8; XI, xiv, 12 XVI, i, 1, 19	T. 129, 131, 133, 148, 163-166, 197, 200, 305, 322 n. 76. *See* Ch. XIV n. 60, and Nor Širakan and Kadmē.
Adzharia	Ačara	Egr			.*See* Egr.
Aegyptus				P. IV, v N.D.	
Aegyptus I				N. VIII	
Aegyptus II				N. VIII	
Ainiana				S. XI, vii, 1	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Akē			E.32, 117-viii/17 D-5		T. 197.
Akilisenē	Acisenē Acilisena Akisenē Ekelenzines Kelesenē Keletzenē	Ekełeaç Anaetica Anaitis chōra Anahtakan Kozličan ? Kozluk kazasi ?	E.50, 116-I/4 G-3	P. V, xii, 6 S. XI, xii, 3, XI, xiv, 2, 5, 12, 16 XII, iii, 8 CM Nd Pers. I, xvii, 11 M. IX, 391; XI, 613.	T. 73, 132, 137 n. 240, 166, 194 n. 209, 210, 218, 233 n. 291, 322 n. 76. *See* Ch. III nn. 1, 12-a-c, 18; V, 60 and Kozluk kazasi.
Ałahēč			E.32, 117-ix, 6 G-7		
Alanaç erkir					*See* Alania.
Ałandost					*See* Ałandṙot.
Ałandṙot	Ałwanṙot Ałandost		E.33, 117-viii/26 G-8		
Alania	Alanaç erkir		E.32 A-5		T. 199.
Ałbak (Mec)	Great Albak Elbak	Başkale kazasi	E.33, 117-viii/18 G-6		G. 78, 38⁰10' × 44⁰10' T. 199-200, 219, 304, 305 n. 119. *See* Ch. XI, n. 71.
Ałbak (P'ok'r)	Lesser Ałbak		E.33, 117-vi/11 D-6		T. 181 n. 143, 199-200.
Albania		Ałwank' Arran Ṙan		P. V, xi S. XI, iv; xiv, 7	T. 83, 102 n. 158, 185-186, 219, 258 n. 362, 405 n. 54, 438, 467, 476 n. 168, 477-478, 483-484, 499. *See* Ch. IX, p. 173-174 and nn. 21, 22a.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Alewan			E.32, 117-xi/10 G-7		
Aŀiovit	Aŀit hovit Ałovit		E.33, 116-iv/13 G-5		T. 205-206.
Aŀit hovit					*See* Aŀiovit.
Aŀiwn	Ařiwc		E.33, 116-i/2 G-3		
Aŀjn	Aŀjnik' Arjn	Arzanenē Arabian March beθ Arzōn	E.33-34, 116-iii D-4		
Aŀjnik'					*See* Aŀjn.
Ałovit					*See* Aŀiovit.
Ałwank'	Albania	Albania Arran Ṙan	E.34, 120 B6-B8		
Ałwanřot					*See* Ałandřot.
Ałwē			E.34, 118-xii/4 B-7		
Ameł					*See* Amol.
Aml					*See* Amol.
Amol	Ameł Aml		E.115		
Anaetica	Anaïtis Chōra	Anahtakan Akilisenē		N.H. V, xx	*See* Akilisenē.
Anahtakan		Anaetica	Agat., v		*See* Akilisenē.
Anaïtis Chōra		Anaetica		C.D. XXXVI, xlviii S. X, xiv, 16.	*See* Akilisenē.
Angelenē					*See* Ingilenē.
Angeł tun	Angł	Ingilenē	E.35, 116-iii/1 G3-G4		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Angł					See Angeł tun.
Anjaχi joɪ	Anjaχ	Ǝncayeçi	E.36, 117-viii/19 G-6		T. 220. *See* Ch. XI n. 60.
Anjewaçik'	Anjowaçik' Anjawaçik'	Norduz	E.36, 117-viii/11 D-5		T. 198-199, 200. *See* Ch. XI pp. 247, 250 and Norduz.
Anjit'	Hanjit' Hânâzit Handsith Hanzith Khandchoot	Anzitenē	E.36, 116-ii/6 G-3		
Anjowaçik'					*See* Anjewaçik'.
Antiochianē				P. V, vi, 16	
Anzetenē					*See* Anzitenē.
Anzitenē		Anjit'		P. V, xii, 8 CJ, I, 29, 5. N. XXXI de B. xxxi, lviii CM Ne	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166 n. 63, 167, 170-172, 175-176, 241, 303. *See* Ch. II nn. 9, 19b, 20.
Apahunik'			E.36, 116-iv/14 G-5		T. 132, 218. *See* Ch. XI n. *50a*.
Aparan	Abaran				*See* Nig.
Arabastan					*See* Arwastan.
bēθ Arabaye					*See* Arwastan.
Arabia Augusta Libanensis				N.D.	
Arabia Euphratensis					*See* Euphratensis.
Arabian March					*See* Arzanenē.
Arac					*See* Arac kołmn.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Arac kołmn	Arac		E.38, 118-xv/21		
			G-6		
Aragacotn			E.38, 118-xv/10		T. 197.
			B-6		
Aṙaǰin Hayk'					*See* Armenia I.
Aṙanṙot			E.37, 118-xii/1		
			B-7		
Arauenē				P. V, vi, 25	*See* Ch. IV n. 9.
Aṙawaneank'					*See* Aṙaweneank'
Aṙawełean					*See* Ch. XI n. 16.
Aṙaweneank'	Arawaneank'				*See* Ch. XI n. 16.
Araxenōn pedion		Erasχajor		S. XI, xiv, 4	*See* Aršarunik'.
Aṙberani	Aṙberan		E.37, 117-viii/8		T. 205.
			G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 57.
Arçaχ	Arjaχ	Karabağ	E.41, 117-x		T. 129, 132, 148, 217 n. 250, 332.
	Arcaχ	Sōdk'	B6-G7		*See* Ch. IX p. 174.
Arčišakovit	Arčišahovit	Erçek	E.40, 117-viii/4		*See* Ch. XI n. 56.
			G-5		
Ardozakan					*See* Artaz.
Arē	Rē		E.115		
Arewik'			E.39, 117-ix/11		
			G-7		
Argastovit			E.39, 117-v/7		
			D-5		
Argovteaçovit					*See* Argwet'.
Argwelk'					*See* Argwet'.
Argwet'	Argwelk'		E.39, 119		
	Argovteaçovit		A-5		
Arisi					*See* Açwerk.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Ar̄iwç					*See* Ałiwn.
Arjn					*See* Ałjn.
Ark'ayiç					*See* Mokk' Ar̄anjnak.
Armenia I		Ar̄ajin Hayk'		CJ I, 29, 5 N. VIII, XXXI N.D. ad L., H.S., G.C.	T. 196, 331.
Armenia II		Erkrord Hayk'	E.51 G-2	N.D. C.Th. XXX, xi, 2 C.J. I, 29, 5 N. VIII, XXXI	T. 331.
Armenia III		Errord Hayk'	E.51		T. 331.
Armenia IV		Çorrord Hayk' Ůpper Mesopotamia Cop'k' Sophenē	E.57, 116-ii G3-G4	N. XXXI G.C.	T. 331. *See* Ch. IX n. 42.
Armenia IV (Altera)		Justinianea		G.C. M. XI, 992	T. 129, 131, 173-175. *See* Ch. IX n. 42.
Armenia Altera		Satrapiae		(Aed. III, i, 17)	*See* Satrapiai.
Armenia Interior		Barjr Hayk'		N. XXXI	T. 148, 175, 193 and n. 208, 194-196. *See* Ch. III.
Armenia Magna					*See* Armenia Maior.
Armenia Maior		Armenia Magna Buzurg Armenan Mec Hayk'		P. V, xii S. XI, xii, 3-4 XII, iii, 29 xiv, 4-8 CM Oe-Pc	T. 72-73, 193 n. 208, 195-196, 277, 286, 451 n. 53, 459 n. 98.
Armenia Megalē					*See* Armenia Maior.

			REFERENCES		
PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Armenia Mikra					*See* Armenia Minor.
Armenia Minor		P'ok'r Hayk' Armenia Mikra Lesser Armenia		P. V, vi, 18 S. XI, xii, 3 XII, iii, 28/29 Aed. III, iv, 15 V.L., L. CM Md-Nc	T. 72-73, 76 n. 84, 82-84, 277, 286, n. 35, 451 n. 53. *See* Ch. IV nn. 1-2.
Armeniakon (th.)				de Th.	
Aṙna	Ǝṙna		B.L. 146-147		*See* Ch. XII n. 25.
Arnoy-otn			E.37, 117-viii/10 D-5		
Aros-pižan			E.37, 117-xi/5		
Arran	Ṙan				*See* Albania.
Arresōn					*See* Arrestōn.
Arrestōn	Arresōn	Rštunik' ?		M.P. 393	*See* Ch. I p. 11.
Aršamunik'	Ašmunikʿ		E.40, 116-iv/4 G-4		T. 212. *See* Ch. XI nn. 41, 43.
Aršarunik'		Erasχajor Araxenōn pedion	E.40, 116-iv/4 G-4 M.*X*. II, xc		T. 202, 206, 207 n. 236, 210, 324 n. 81. *See* Ch. XI nn. 2, *2a*.
Arseaç-pʿor	Aseaç-pʿor		E.40, 118-xiv/8 B-4		
Artahan			E.40, 119-i/3 B-3		
Artanuǰ					*See* Kłarǰetʿi.
Artašēseankʿ	Artašēzeankʿ	Artawanean	E.41, 117-vii/28 G-5		T. 232 n. 286. *See* Ch. XI nn. 63-64.
Artašēzeankʿ					*See* Artašēseankʿ.
Artawanean					*See* Artašēseankʿ.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Artaz	Ardozakan	Šawaršam	E.40, 117-viii/16 M.*X.* II, lii		T. 197. *See* Ch. XI n. 59.
Arwantʻuni					*See* Erwandunikʻ.
Arwastan	Arabastan	bēθ Arabaye Mygdonia	S.O.272		T. 179.
Arweniç jor			E.37-38, 117-v/4 G-5		
Arxanenē					*See* Arzanenē.
Arzanenē	Arxanenē Arzenē	Ałjn bēθ Arzōn Arabian March	S.O. 272	A.M. XXV, xix, 9 PP. xiv CM Pe	T. 129, 131-132, 149-150, 163, 165, 166 n. 63, 179-182, 183 n. 147, 197, 199, 236, 248, 304-305, 468 n. 138. *See* Ch. II n. 25; IX n. 16.
Arzenē					*See* Arzanenē.
bēθ Arzōn	bēθ Ostan	Arzōn Ostan Arzn	S.O. 272		*See* Arzanenē.
Arzōn Ostan					*See* bēθ Arzōn.
Aseaç pʻor					*See* Arseaç pʻor.
Asiana				N.D., N. VIII	
Ašmunikʻ					*See* Aršamunikʻ.
Ašoçk'	Aboçi		E.36, 118-xv/4 B-5		T. 185-186, 187 n. 175, 190, 191 n. 199, 324 n. 81, 440 n. 16, 444-446, 468-474, 489, 499. *See* Ch. XI n. 4.
Asorestan		Assyria	E.38 D5-D6		*See* also Sophenē.
Aspakanuneaç Jor					*See* Aspakuneaç Jor.
Aspakuneaç Jor	Aspakanuneaç Jor Aspakunik'		E.38, 116-iv/2 G-4		
Aspakunik'					*See* Aspakuneaç Jor.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Aspurakan					*See* Vaspurakan.
Assyria					*See* Asorestan.
Astaunitis				P. V, xii, 6	*See* Asthianenē.
Asthianē					*See* Asthianenē.
Asthianenē	Astaunitis Asthianē Astianikēs	Hašteank' Genç kazasi Çapakçur ?		P. V, xii, 6 C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI Aed. III, iii, 7 CM Oe	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 172 n. 95, 241, 442 n. 22, 458 n. 93. *See* Ch. I n. 27; II pp. 32, 35-37.
Atropatena					*See* Atropatenē.
Atropatenē	Atropatena Media Atropatenē	Atrpatakan Azerbaijan		S. XI, xii, 4 xiv, 3	T. 75, 131, 163-164, 232 n. 187, 459 n. 98. *See* Ch. IX nn. 3, 8, 27.
Atrpatakan		Atropatenē	E.38, 114-115 D6-D8		
Atrpatunik'					*See* Trpatunik'.
Awazov ašχarh					*See* Abasgia.
Aygark'			E.35, 117-vi/6 D-5		
Ayli		Kuřičan	E.35, 117-vii/1 D-6		
Ayrarat	Ararat		E.35, 118-xv B5-G6		T. 129, 132, 139, 148, 192, 197, 199, 204-206, 215, 218, 220-222, 230 n. 281, 322, 468.
A(yt)rwank'					*See* Aytwank'.
Aytwank'	A(yt)rwank'		E.35, 117-vi/5 D-5		
Azerbaijan					*See*Atropatenē.
Aznawajor					*See* Azwaç jor.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Aznawaç-jor	Aznawajor		E.31, 116-iii/7 G-5		
Azordaç-p'or	Kap'or		E.32, 118-xiv/8 B-4		
Bagan					*See* Bak'an.
bēθ Bagas			S.O. 272		*See* Ch. IX n. 33.
Bagrauandenē		Bagrewand		P. V, xii, 9	T. 132, 137, 138 n. 240, 201-202, 209, 218, 241, 309, 324. *See* Ch. XI nn. 2b, 20, 27, 27a.
Bagsen					*See* Basean.
Bagrawand					*See* Bagrewand.
Bagrewand	Bagrawand	Bagrauandenē	E.42, 118-xv/6 G-5		
Bak'an	Bagan Bak'ran	Marand	E.44, 117-viii/29 G-6		*See* Ch. XI n. 64.
Bak'ran					*See* Bak'an.
Balabitenē	Balabitena Bilabetines	Balahovit Pasinler kazasi		C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI Aed. III, i, 26 CM Ne G.C.	T. 131, 138 n. 240, 212, 241.
Balahovit	Balaχovit	Belabitenē Palu kazasi ?	E.43, 116-ii/4 G-3		
Bałan ṙot	Ṙot i Bała		E.43-44, 117-xi/4 G-8		
Bałasakan		Gargaraçik' P'aytakaran Bazgun ? Kaspē ?	E.42-44, 114-115 B-7		*See* Ch. IX n. 13; XIV n. 73, 76.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Balk'		Meli dašt	E.44, 117-ix/9 G-5		
Barjr Hayk'		Armenia Interior	E.37, 116-i G-2		
Basean	Basen Bagsen	Basianē Phasianē Pasinler kazasi	E.44, 118-xv/1		
Basen					*See* Basean.
Basianē		Basean Phasianē Pasinler kazasi		X. IV, vi, 5 CM Pd	T. 218-219, 219 n. 254, 496. *See* Ch. XI nn. 2-3.
Basilisenē					*See* Orbalisenē.
Başkale kazasi					G. 78, $38^{0}10'$N × $44^{0}10'$E. *See* Ałbak Mec.
Basoropeda				S. XI, xiv, 5	
Bazgun					*See* Abasgia and Bałasakan.
Bažunik'					*See* Bužunik'.
Beł					*See* Beχ.
Berdaç p'or			E.44-45, 118-xiv/2 B-5		
Berdajor					*See* Berjor.
Berjor	Berdajor		E.44, 117-x/3 B-7		
Beχ	Beł Biχ		E.44, 105, 120 B-7		
Bilabetines					*See* Balabitenē.
Bithynia				P. V, i N.D., V.L., L. CM D-Fc	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Bodunik'	Bogunik' Budunik'		E.45, 117-viii/3 G-5		
Bogunik'					*See* Bodunik'.
Bołno p'or			E.45, 119-iv/3 B-6		
Bołχa	Boχa Buχa		E.45, 118-xiv, 5 G-5	P. V, xii, 4	T. 204, 230 n. 78, 451 n. 53, 458 n. 93. *See* Ch. I n. 42.
Boχa				P. V, xii, 4	*See* Bołχa
Budunik'					*See* Bodunik'.
Bulanəχ					*See* Bulanik'.
Bulanik'	Bulanəχ Bulanyk				G. 109, $39^{0}05'$N × $42^{0}05'$E. *See* Hark'.
Bulanyk					*See* Bulanik'.
Buχa					*See* Bolχa.
Bužunik'	Bažunik' Bžunik'	Norduz	E.45, 117-viii/9 G-5		*See* Ch. XI p. 248; XII n. 31.
Buzurg Armenan					*See* Armenia Maior.
Bzabde					*See* bēθ Zabdē.
Bznunik'			E.45, 116-iv/11 G-5		T. 209-210, 213, 216, 324 n. 82. *See* Ch. XI n. 48.
Bžunik'					*See* Bužunik'.
Čahuk			E.64, 117-vi/10 D-5		
Čakatk'			E.64, 118-xv/11 G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 1.
Čakk'			E.64, 118-xiv/9 B-5		
Calarzene					*See* Katarzenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Çaldiran					*See* Ch. XI p. 237.
Całkotn	Całkunik'	Varažnunik' (1)	E.56, 118-xv/7		T. 309 n. 32, 315, 319.
		Zachunuc	G-5		*See* Ch. XI nn. 6, 19, 21, 23.
Całkunik'					*See* Całkotn.
Camanenē				N.H. VI, 3	*See* Chamanenē.
Čanet'i					*See* Tzanika.
Çapakçur	Čapłǰur	Genç kazasi ?			*See* Asthianenē
Čapłǰur			E.59		*See* Asthianenē.
Cappadocia				P. V, vi; CM I-Me	
				N. XXX	
Cappadocia I				N.D.	
				N. XXX	
Cappadocia II				N.D.	
				N. XXX	
Cappadocia (Greater)					*See* Cappadocia Taurica.
Cappadocia Pontica	Cappadocia ad Pontem			S. XII, iii, 2	*See* Ch. IV nn. 3-4.
Cappadocia Taurica	Greater Cappadocia			S. XII, iii, 12	
	Cappadocia ad Taurum			xii, 10-11	*See* Ch. IV n. 6.
Caranitis				N.H. V, xx	*See* Karenitis.
Caspiane					*See* Kaspianē.
Cataonia				N.H. XI, iii	*See* Kataonia.
Çawdeayk'	Çawdēkʿ	Zabdikenē	E.86		
		Tur Abdin	D-4		
Çawdēkʿ					*See* Çawdeaykʿ.
Cawdkʿ					Sōdkʿ.
Chaldia				St. Byz.	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Chamanenē	Camanenē	Haymana kazasi?		P. V, vi, 11 S. XII, i, 4 N.H. V, xx CM Id	*See* Ch. IV nn. 3-4,8
Chera					*See* Hēr.
Cholarzenē	Calarzene Katarzenē	Kłarǰet'i Artanuǰ		P. V, xii, 4	T. 142, 188 n. 188, 322 n. 76, 334-335, 382, 434, 442 n. 22, 24, 453 n. 62, 457 and nn. 89, 93, 461 and n. 109, 462-468, 471-472, 474, 485-488, 491, 495-498.
Chordzianenē					*See* Chorzanē.
Chorzanē	Chordzianē Chorzianē Korzenē Khordzen Orzianines	*X*orjayn		S. XI, xiv, 4 Aed. III, iii, 7 CM Nd	T. 442 n. 22, 457 n. 93. *See* Ch. III n. 1; V n. 60.
Chorzianē					*See* Chorzanē.
Cilicia					*See* Kilikia.
Çłak					*See* Çłuk.
Çłuk	Çłak		E.56, 117-ix/7 G-6		
Cobēnor			E.56, 119-v/1 B-6		
Cobep'or	Cop'op'or		E.56, 118-xiii/1 B-6		
Colchis	Kołk'isē			P. V, ix CM Pa	
Colopene					*See* Kulupenē.
Colthene					*See* Kolthenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Commagenē				N.H. VI, iii	*See* Kommagenē.
Cop'aç kołmn					*See* Cop'k' Mec.
Cop'k'	Copʻkʻ Šahuni	Sophenē Armenia IV	E.57 G3		
Cop'k' Mec	Copʻaç kołmn	Sophanenē	E.57, 116-ii G3-G4		
Cop'k' Šahuni	Šahē Šahunian Sophenē	Sophenē	E.57, 116-ii/5 G-3		
Copʻopʻor					*See* Cobepʻor.
Corduenē					*See* Korduenē.
Čorrord Hayk'		Armenia IV Sophenē	E.57, 116-ii G3-G4		
Čowaršeank'					*See* Čowarš- řot.
Čowaš-řot	Čowaršeank' Čowařs řot Čwašot		E.64, 117-viii/21 G-6		
Culupene				N.H. VI, iii	
Çχrasjmay			E.87, 119-iii/10 A-6		
Dalař		Elmali dere	E.48, 116-iv/8 G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 53.
Dambvar					*See* Dmbawand.
Darachichak		Varažnunik'(1)?			*See* Varažnunik' (1).
Daranalia (d.)	Daranalis	Daranałik' Analibla		CM Nd M. XI, 645.	T. 233 n. 291. *See* Ch. III nn. 1, 4a, 12d; V n. 60.
Daranałik'		Daranalia Analibla	E.49, 116-I/1 G-3		
Daranalis					*See* Daranalia.
Dařni					*See* Gařni.

			REFERENCES		
PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
bēθ Dasēn			S.O. 272		*See* Dasn.
Dasin					*See* Dasn.
Dasn	Dasin	bēθ Dasēn	E.49 D-5 S.O. 272		*See* Ch. IX n. 33.
Dasnawork'		Gastovor	E.49, 116-iv/6 G-4		*See* Ch. XI n. 53.
Dēgik'			E.49, 116-ii/7 G-3		
Derjan	Dersim	Derxenē	E.49, 116-i/6 G-4		*See* Ch. III n. 1, 12a,14; V n. 60.
Dersim					*See* Derjan.
Derxenē	Derzenē Xerxenē	Tercan kazasi Derjan Tercan kazasi		S. XI, xiv, 5 N.H. V, xx CM Od	
Derzenē				N.H. V, xx	*See* Derxenē.
Dilumn					*See* Dłmunk'.
Diospontus		Pontus Amasia Helenopontus		 L.	
Dłmunk'		Dilumn	E.115		
Dmbawand	Dambvar		E.115		
Dorek'					*See* Gawrek'.
Dwin ostan					*See* Ostan Hayoç.
Edaiab					*See* Hedayab.
Eger					*See* Egr.
Egeria					*See* Egr.
Egr	Egeria Eger	Adzharia	E.50 B-4		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Ekełeaç		Akilisenē Anahtakan Kozliçan ? Kozluk kazasi	E.50, 116-I/4 G-3		
Ekelenzines				M. IX, 391; XI, 613	*See* Akilisenē.
Ełbak					*See* Ałbak Mec.
Elmali dere		Dalaṙ			G. 207, 39^{0}25' × 40^{0}35'.
Erasχajor					*See* Aršarunik'.
Erçek					*See* Arčišakovit.
Ērcoy	Ērcwoy		E.51, 119-vi/3 B-6		
Ērcwoy					*See* Ērcoy.
Ereštuni					*See* Ṙštunik'.
Erewark'			E.51, 116-iv/12 G-5		
Eritʿunikʿ					*See* Erwandunik'.
Erkrord Haykʿ					*See* Armenia II.
Ernjak			E.51, 117-ix/1 G-6		
Errord Haykʿ					*See* Armenia III.
Erutak					*See* Ṙotak.
Erwandunik'	Arwantʿuni Eritʿunikʿ		E.51, 117-viii/13 G-5		
Erχetʿkʿ	*X*erhetʿkʿ		E.51, 116-iii/8 G-5		
Ethnē					*See* Satrapiae.
Eufratesia					*See* Euphratensis.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Euphratensis	Arabia Euphratensis Eufratesia			N.D., N. VIII	
Ewtnpʿorakean bagınkʿ			E.51 G-8		
Ǝncayec̣i	Ǝncayni Ǝncaynoc̣kʿ				*See* Anjaχi jor.
Ǝncayni					*See* Anjaχi jor.
Ǝncaynockʿ					*See* Anjaχi jor.
Ǝṙnay					*See* Aṙna.
Foenices					*See* Phoenicia.
Gabełeankʼ		Kałzwan Kağizman kazasi	E.46, 118-xv/2 G-5		T. 220-221.
Gabitʿean					*See* Gawetʿan.
Galatia				P. V, iv S. XII, v, 1 N.H. VI, iii N.D., N. VIII CM Fe-Ic	
Galatia II				N. VIII	
Galatia Salutaris				N.D.	
Gangarkʿ					*See* Kangarkʿ.
Gardman			E.46, 118, xii/6 B-6		T. 216, 258, 475-478, 480-484, 485 n. 211, 487 n. 224, 499.
Gargarac̣ikʼ	Karkar Gargarac̣woc̣ dašt				*See* Bałasakan.
Garines					*See* Karenitis.
Gaṙni	Daṙni		E.46, 117-viii/7 G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 57.
Gaṙni Bazar					*See* Mazaz.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Garsauritis				P. V, vi, 13 S, XII, i, 4 N.H. VI, iii CM Ie	
Gastavor					*See* Dasnawork'.
Gawet'an	Gabit'ean		E.46, 117-viii/30 G-6		
Gawrēg					*See* Gawrēk'.
Gawrēk'	Gawrēg	Dorek'	E.41, 116-ii/8 G-3		
Gazrikan	Gazrikean		E.46, 117-viii/31 D-6		
Gazrikean					*See* Gazrikan.
Gełak'unik'	Gełark'anunik'		E.47, 117-ix/4 B-6		
Gełan		Gilan	E.47 G-8		
Gełark'anunik'					*See* Gełak'unik'.
Genç kazasi		Asthianenē Hasteank'			G. 234, 38°45'N × 40°35'E.
Gentes					*See* Satrapiae.
Georgia					*See* Iberia.
Gilan					*See* Gełan.
Gogarenē		Gugark' Iberian March Moschic March		S. XI, xiv, 4-5	T. 102 n. 158, 129, 131-133, 155 n. 14, 162 n. 40, 165, 177 n. 115, 183-192, 217, 236, 334, 432, 449, 452, 457-459, 459 n. 48, 467-474, 483, 487, 489, 495 n. 262, 499. Lang, Review, *Speculum* XLII, 1 (1967) pp. 194-196. *See* Ch. XIV n. 76.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Gogovit					*See* Kogovit.
Gokan					*See* Gugan.
Golthenē					*See* Gołt'n.
Gołt'n		Golthenē	E.48, 117-viii/34 G-6		*See* Ch. XI n. 65. Not to be confused with Kołt in Arçaχ q.v.
Gordyenē		Korčēk'		P. V, xii, 9 S. XI, xiv, 3 XVI, 1, 24 CM Pf	T. 57 n. 54, 75, 102 n. 158, 129, 148, 166, 179, 181-182, 202, 468 n. 138.
Gorgovatisχ					*See* Goṙot'is-χew.
Goṙot'is-χew	Gorgovatisχ		E.48, 119-iii/1 A-5		
Greater Ałbak					*See* Ałbak Mec.
Greater Armenia					*See* Armenia Maior.
Greater Cappadocia					*See* Cappadocia Taurica.
Greater Sophenē					*See* Sophanenē.
Grčunik'					*See* Krčunik'.
Gugank'	Gukan Gokan		E.48, 117-viii/25 G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 63.
Gugark'		Gogarenē	E.48, 118-xiii B5-B6		
Gukan					*See* Gugank'.
Gurzan			Z.M. 144		*See* Iberia.
Gzeł					*See* Gzełχ.
Gzełχ	Gzeł		E.47, 116-iii/9 G-4		
Haband I			E.61-62, 117-ix/18 G-7		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Haband II					*See* Miws Haband.
Haeretica					*See* Hairetikē.
Hairetikē	Haeretica			P. V, vi, 18	
Hakkâri					G. 268, 37°35'N × 43°50'E.
Hânâzit					*See* Anjitʿ.
Handsith					*See* Anjitʿ.
Hani			E.62, 117-xi/6 G-8		
Hanjit'					*See* Anjitʿ.
Hanzith					*See* Anjitʿ.
Harčlankʿ	Harčławnkʿ		E.62, 117-x/6 G-7		
Harčławnkʿ					*See* Harčlankʿ.
Hark'	Charka	Bulanik kazasi	E.62, 116-iv/9 G-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 45, 52.
Hašteank'		Asthianenē Genç kazasi	E.62, 116-ii/2 G-4		
Hawnunik'			E.62, 118-xv/4 G-5		T. 215 n. 246.
Haymana kazasi		Chamanenē ?			G. 283, 39°25'N × 32°35'E.
Hayoç jor			E.62 G-5		
Hedayab	Edaiab	Adiabenē Nor Širakan Median March	E.49, 72		
Helenopontus		Diospontus Pontus Amasia		N.D. N. VIII, XXVIII CM Ac	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Hēr	*Xar* *X*ērakan dašt	Chera	E.63, 117-vii/9 G-6		Later fused with Zarewand into Ṙotak. *See also* Zarewand.
Honoriada	Honorias			L., N. VIII	
Honorias				N.D.	*See* Honoriada.
Hosdroenē					*See* Osrhoenē.
Iberia		Georgia Gurzan Varǰan Virk'		P. V, x S. XI, iii	
Iberian March					*See* Gogarenē.
Ingilenē	Angelenē	Angeł tun		C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166 n. 63, 167, 170-172, 175-177, 224, 241, 297-303, 324 n. 81. *See* Ch. II n. 25b.
Išayr			E.54, 117-v/1 G-6		
Išoç	Išuç		E.54, 117-v/3 D-5		
Ispir kazasi		Suspiritis			G. 318, $40^0 30'$N × $41^0 00'$E.
J̌awaχēt'i					*See* J̌awaχk'.
J̌awaχk'	J̌awaχēt'i J̌ovaχk'		E.78, 119-i/4 B-5		
J̌ermajor			E.78, 117-v/8 D-5		
Jork'			E.64, 117-ix/10 G-7		
Jorop'or			E.63, 118-v/3 B-6		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Jowaχk‘					*See* J̌awaχk‘.
Justinianea					*See* Armenia IV Altera.
Kadmē	Korduenē ?	Adiabenē ?	E.86		T. 224-225 and n. 270, 233 and n. 289, 236. *See* Ch. XIV n. 60.
Kağizman kazasi		Gabełeank’			G. 322, 40°10’N × 43°05’E.
Kał	Keł		E.89, 116-iii/4 G-4		
Kalarǰk‘					*See* Klarǰet‘i.
Kalarsōn					*See* Klarǰet‘i.
Keł					*See* Kał.
Kałzwan					*See* Gabełeank’.
Kamisenē				S. XII, iii, 37.	
Kangark‘	Gangark‘ Kankark‘		E.57-58, 118-xiii/6 B-6		
Kankark‘					*See* Kangark‘.
Kapkoh k‘ustak	K‘apkołk‘		E.114-115.		
Kap‘or					*See* Azeaç-p‘or.
Karabağ					*See* Arçaχ.
Karat‘unik‘					*See* Kart‘unik‘.
Karayazi kazasi		Towarcatap‘			G. 359, 39°55’ × 42°05’.
Karenitis	Caranitis Garines	Karin		S. XI, xiv, 5 N.H. V, xx CM Pd	T. 193 nn. 207, 209, 233 n. 291, 458 n. 98. *See* Ch. III nn. 1, 12a-b, 14; V n. 60.
Karin		Karenitis	E.58, 116-i/9 G-4		
Karkar					*See* Gargaraçik’.
Kart‘unik‘	Karat‘unik‘	Saraponik‘	E.58, 117-vi/9 D-6		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Kaspē					. *See* Kaspianē.
Kaspianē	Kasp'ē Caspiane	Kazbk' P'aytakaran		S. XI, iv, 5 xiv, 5	T. 129. 132, 148, 232 n. 287.
Kataonia	Cataonia			P. V, vi, 22 S. XI, xii, 2 XII, i, 4; ii, 2-6 N.H. VI, iii CM Ke	
Katarzenē	Cholarzenē Calarzene	Kłarǰet'i		P. V, 12, 4 CM Pc	
Kazbk'	Kasp'ē	Kaspianē P'aytakaran	E.57 B-8		
Kelesenē				Pers. I, xvii, 11	*See* Akilisenē.
Kēt'ik'			E.59, 116-iii/5 G-5		
Khandchoot					. *See* Anjit'.
Khordzen					. *See* *X*orjayn.
Kiği kazasi		*X*orjayn			G. 386, 39°20'N × 40°30'E.
Kilikia	Cilicia			P. V, vii CM I - Jg	
Kilikia (I)				N. VIII	
Kilikia (II)				N. VIII	
Klarǰet'i	Kalarǰk' Klarǰk' Kalarčk'	Cholarzenē Katarzenē Artanuǰ	E.59, 118-xiii/9		T. 142, 188 n. 188, 322 n. 76, 334-335, 382, 439, 442 nn. 22, 24, 452, 453 n. 62, 457 nn. 89, 93, 461 and n. 109, 462-468, 471-472, 474, 485-488, 491, 495-498.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Koçhisar		Morimenē ?			G. 411 (7) 39⁰52' × 37⁰24'. *See* Ch. IV p. 58, *also* Cities.
Kogovit	Gogovit		E.59, 118-xv/13 G-5		T. 200, 202, 309, 321-322 and n. 77, 342-343, 398. *See* Ch. XI, nn. 24-25.
Koł	Kola		E.59, 118-xiv/1 B-5		T. 457.
Kołbopʻor			E.60, 118-xiii/2 B-6		
Kołkʻisē					*See* Colchis.
Kołt'	Koχt	Kolthenē ?	E.60, 117-x/12 B-7		T. 259. Not to be confused with Gołtn in Vaspurakan.
Kolthenē	Colthene	Gołtn ? Kołt ?		P. V, xii, 4	T. 105 n. 160, 203, 204 n. 230, 323, 451 n. 2.
Kommagenē	Commagene			P. V, xiv, 8 S. XI, xii, 2 N.H. VI, iii CM L - Mf	
Kor	Korē			D.A. I.	*See* Ch. XI nn. 28, 52.
Korē					*See* Kor.
Korčayk'					*See* Korčēk'.
Korčēk'	Korčayk'	Gordyenē	E.60, 117-vi D-5		
Kordē					*See* Korduenē.
Kordrik'					*See* Tmorikʻ.
Korduenē	Corduene Kordē	Korduk' bēθ Qardū		A.M. XXV, xix, 9 P.P. xiv	T. 131, 180-182 and nn. 140, 142, 144, 146.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Korduk'		Korduenē bēθ Qardū	E.60, 117-vi/1 D-5		
Korzenē					*See* Chorzanē.
Košakan					*See* Kovšakan.
Kotayk'	Kotēk Kōtaia	Zangi bazar ?	E.60, 118-xv/6 B-6		*See* Ch. XI p. 238.
Kotēk					*See* Kotayk'.
Kovšakan	Košakan Kušakan		E.60, 117-ix/12 G-7		
Koχt'					*See* Kołt'.
Kozličan	Kuzichan	Akilisenē ? Kozluk kazasi ?			*See* Ch. III p. 47.
Kozluk kazasi		Akilisenē ?			G. 428, 38°12'N × 41°29'E.
Krčunik'	Krkčunik' Grčunik' Řotkrčunik'		E.61, 117-viii/22 G-6		*See* Ch. XI n. 62.
Krkčunik'.					*See* Krčunik'.
Kułanovit			E.61, 117-viii/5		
Kulupenē	Colopene Culupene			S. XII, *iii*, 37 N.H. VI, iii CM Kd	*See* Ch. III n. 20.
Kuřičan					*See* Ayli.
Kušakan					*See* Kovšakan.
K'ust-i-p'ařenk'	K'usti P'ařnes		E.88, 90, 117-x/10 B-6		NB Eremyan's division into two districts.
K'usti P'ařnes					*See* K'ust-i-p'ařenk'.
Kuzichan					*See* Kozličan.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Lauiansenē				P. V, vi, 24 S. XII, i, 4; ii, 10; iii, 37 CM Ld	
Lazika				P. V, ix, 4 Goth. IV, ii, 3 G.C. CM Pb	T. 255-257, 363-364, 365 n. 32, 388, 405 n. 52.
Lesser Ałbak					*See* Ałbak P'ok'r.
Lesser Armenia					*See* Armenia Minor.
Lesser Siwnik'					*See* Sisakan-i-Kotak
Lesser Sophenē					*See* Sophenē.
Lower Sophenē					*See* Sophanenē.
Lykaonia	Lycaonia			P. V, vi, 15 N. VIII, XXV CM Ge - Hf	
Machurtōn					*See* Mahkert tun.
Mahkert tun	Machurtōn	al-Māḥardān bēθ Mahqart Revanduz	E.64, 118 D-6 S.O. 272		T. 165, 166 nn. 58, 59, 218, 459 n. 98. *See* Ch. IX n. 33.
bēθ Mahqart			S.O. 272		*See* Mahkert tun.
Malatya kazasi		Melitenē			G. 455, 38°25'N × 38°20'E.
Manałi					*See* Mananałi.
Mananałi	Manałi		E.64-65, 116-i/5 G-4		*See* III n. 1; 16; V n. 60.
Manralik'		Manraloi	E.65 A-5		
Manraloi		Manralik'		P. V, ix, 4	
Maperkiton					*See* Mareptikon.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Maraç amur ašχarh			E.65, 69, 115, 118 Agat'. cxx		
Mardałik'			E.65, 116-iv/5 G-4		*See* Ch. III n. 1.
Mardastan	Mardoçk' Marduçayk'		E.65, 117-viii/15 G-6		
Mardoçk'					*See* Mardastan.
Mardpetakan		Mareptikon ? Sephakan ?			T. 131, 139, 169 and n. 81, 170 n. 85, 200, 231 n. 285. *See* Ch. I p. 11.
Marduçayk'					*See* Mardastan.
Mareptikon	Maperkiton	Mardpetakan ?		M.P. M. VII	*See* Ch. I p. 11.
Mari			E.65, 117-vii/2 D-6		
Mark'					*See* Media.
Maseaç otn			E.65, 118-xv/12 G-6		
Mazaz		Gaṙni bazar ?	E.64, 118-xv/17 B-6		*See* Ch. XI p. 238.
Mec Ałank'					*See* Mecirank'.
Mec Ałbak					*See* Ałbak Mec.
Mec Hayk'		Armenia Maior	E.66-70		
Mec Kwank'	Mec Kwenk'		E.66, 117-x/5 B-7		
Mecirank'	Mec Ałank'		E.66, 117-x/4 B-7		
Mecnunik'			E.70, 117-viii/23 G-5		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Media	Mark'			P. V, xii, 1 S. XI, xiii	
Media Atropatenē					.*See* Atropatenē.
Median March					.*See* Adiabenē.
Mehnunik'	Mehenunik'		B.L. 146-147		T. 232 n. 286.
Meli dašt					.*See* Bałasakan.
Melitenē	Melitine	Malatya kazasi		P. V, xii, 21 S. XII, i, 4 ii, 1 N.H. VI, iii ad L. CM Le	
Melitine				H.S., G.C.	*See* Melitenē.
Mesopotamia		Mijaget		N.D., N. VIII CM Mg-Ph	
Mesopotamia Upper					.*See* Armenia IV.
Mija		Vijac	E.70, 117-v/5 D-5		
Mijaget					.*See* Mesopotamia.
Miws Haband		Sisakan i Kotak	E.70, 117		
Mokk'		Moxoenē bēθ Moksāyē	 E.71, 116-i/5 G5-D-5		
Mokk' Aṙanjnak		Ark'ayiç	E.41, 71, 117-v/6 G-5		
bēθ Moksāyē			S.O. 272		*See* Mokk'.
Morimenē	Murimenē	Koçhisar ?		S. XII, i, 4 v, 4 N.H. VI, iii CM Ie	*See* Ch. IV p. 58.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Moschic March					*See* Gogarenē.
Mot‘ołank‘	Ot‘ołank‘		E.71, 117-vi/7 D-6		
Moxoenē		Mokk' bēθ Moksāyē	S.O. 272	A.M. XXV, xix, 9 CM Ee	T. 129, 148, 166 n. 63, 180, 181 n. 140, 197 n. 222, 200, 202, 468 n. 138.
Mrit			E.71, 119 B-4		
Mruł			E.71, 119 B-4		
Mughan					*See* Muχank‘.
Mukan					*See* Muχank'.
Munzur					*See* Muzur.
Murimenē					*See* Morimenē.
Muχank'	Mukan Mχank‘	Mughan	E.71, 117-x/7 G-7		
Muzur	Mənjur Mzur Munzur	Muzurōn	E.71, 116-i/3 G-3		
Muzurōn		Muzur		G.C.	
Mχank‘					*See* Muχank‘.
Mygdonia					*See* Arwastan.
Mzur					*See* Muzur.
Nig		Aparan	E.72, 118-xv/15 G-6		T. 198, 205-205, 207.
Nigal			E.72, 110, 119 B-4		
Nihorakan					*See* Niχorakan.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Niχorakan	Nihorakan	Daḥerrakān deh Naḥīrakān	E.72, 118 D5-D6		T. 165. *See* Ch. IX pp. 175-178.
bēθ Nōhādrā	Nohadra Notartay		S.O., 272		*See* Ch. IX nn. 33, 35.
Norduz		Anjewaçik' Buzunik'			G. 489, 37°51'N × 43°32'E. *See* Ch. XI p. 248.
Nor Širakan	Noširakan Širakan	Adiabenē Median march	E.27, 49, 52, 59, 64, 67, 72, 77		*See* Ch. IX pp. 172-173,175-178.
Noširakan					. *See* Nor Širakan.
Notartay					. *See* bēθ Nōhādrā.
Ok'ałē	Ok'ał		E.76, 118-xiv/6 B-4		
Orbalisenē	Basilisenē			P. V, vi, 18	T. 54 n. 49, 451 n. 53. *See* Ch. III n. 25.
Orbisenē				P. V, vi, 18	»
Orisank'					. *See* Orsirank'.
Ormizd Perož	Ormzdperož		E.75, 117-xi/9 G-7		
Ormzdperož					. *See* Ormizd Perož.
Orsenē				P. V, vi, 18	*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Orsirank'	Orisank'		E.75, 117-vi/8 D-6		
Orzianines				G.C.	*See* Chorzanē.
Osrhoenē	Osroenē Hosdroenē			N.D., N. VIII CM Mf	*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Osroenē					. *See* Osrhoenē.
Ossetia					. *See* Alania.
bēθ Ostan					. *See* bēθ Arzōn.
Ostan Hayoç		Dwin Ostan	E.49, 74, 116-xv/19 B6-G6		*See* Ch. XII n. 30.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Otenē		Utik'		P. V, xii, 4	T. 129, 132, 148, 220, 259, 467, 482.
Other Armenia					*See* Armenia Altera.
Ot'ołank'					*See* Mot'ołank'.
Oves					*See* Açwerk.
Packank'	Panckank' Parsakank'		E.77, 117-x/9 G-7		
Paflagonia					*See* Paphlagonia.
Pałanakan tun					*See* Pałnatun.
Pałankatun					*See* Pałnatun.
Palestina I				N. VIII	
Palestina II				N. VIII	
Palestina III				N. VIII	
Palestina Salutaris				N.D.	
Pałinatun					*See* Pałnatun.
Palines		Pałnatun		G.C.	T. 212 n. 240.
Pałnatun	Pałankatun Pałanakan tun Pałinatun	Palines	E.76-77, 116-ii/3 G-3		*See* Ch. III n. 1.
Palu kazasi		Balahovit ? Palunik'			G. 505, $38^{0}40' \times 39^{0}55'$E.
Palun					*See* Palunik'.
Palunik'	Palun	Palu kazasi ?	E.76 (1), 117-viii/24 G-5		T. 212.
Panckank'					*See* Packank'.
Paphlagonia	Paflagonia			N.D., N. XXIX V.L., L. CM Gb-Jb	
P'aṙnēs					*See* K'ust i p'aṙenk'.
Parsakank'					*See* Packank'.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Parskahayk'		Persarmenia	E.77, 117-vii G6-D6		T. 129, 148, 152, 164 n. 48, 197.
Parspatunik'	Parspunikʻ Patsparunik' Pasparunikʻ		E.77, 117-viii/26 G-7		*See* Ch. XI n. 64.
Parspunikʻ					. *See* Parsparunikʻ.
Partizaç pʻor			E.77, 118-xiv/3 B-5		
Parwar			E.77, 119-iv/4		
Pasinler kazasi	Pasen	Basean Basianē			G. 507, 40°00'N *H* 41°40'E.
Pasparunikʻ					. *See* Parsparunikʻ.
Patakaranēs					. *See* Pʻaytakaran.
Patsparunik'					. *See* Parspatunik'.
P'aytakaran	Patakaranēs	Kaspē Kazbk' Bałasakan	E.88, 117-xi G7-G8		
Pentarchy					. *See* Satrapiae.
Persarmenia					. *See* Parskahayk'.
Pharangion				Pers. II, xxix, 4	*See* Suspiritis.
Phasianē				X. IV, vi, 5	*See* Basianē.
Phauenē					. *See* Phaunitis.
Phaunitis	Phauenē	Saunitis		S. XI, xiv, 4	
Phoenicia	Foenices			N.D.	
Phrygia				P. V, ii, 17 CM Df-Fd	T. 53 n. 49.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Phrygia Pacatiana				N. VIII P. V, iv, 9; v, 7	
Phrygia Salutaris				N. VIII	
Piank‘			E.77, 117-x/8 B-7		
Pisidia				N. VIII, XXIX CM E-Ff	
P’ok’r Hayk’		Armenia Minor	E.88-89 G2-B3		
Pontica (d.)				N.D.	
Pontus				P. V, i S. XII, iii, 1-2, 10-19 CM Jc-Pb	
Pontus Amasia		Diospontus Helenopontus		S. XII, iii, 38 L.	
Pontus Cappadocicus				P. V, vi, 5, 8 xii, 2 CM Mc	T. 450 n. 53.
Pontus Galaticus				P. V, vi, 3, 8 CM Jc	
Pontus Polemoniacus				P. V, vi, 4, 8 N.D., V.L., L. C.J. I, 29, 5 CM Kc	
bēθ Qardū			S.O. 272		*See* Korduenē.
bēθ Rahimai					. *See* bēθ Rehimē.
Ramōnīn (d.)			S.O. 272		*See* Ch. IX n. 33.
Ṙan					. *See* Albania.
Rē					. *See* Arē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
bēθ Rehimē	bēθ Rahimai	Rehimenē	S.O. 272		
Rehimenē	Rehimena	bēθ Rehimē		A.M., XXV, xix, 9	T. 180, 182 n. 147.
Revanduz					*See* Mahkert tun.
Ṙostak					*See* Ṙotak.
Ṙotak	Ṙostak Erutak		E.63		*See* Ch. XII nn. 27, 28. *See also* Zarewand *and* Her.
Ṙot-i-Bała					*See* Bałan-ṙot.
Ṙotkrčunikʿ					*See* Krčunikʿ.
Ṙot-Parçean	Ṙot-Paçean		E.79, 118-xii/3 B-7		
Ṙot-Paçean					*See* Ṙot Parçean.
Ṙštunik'	Ereštuni	Arrestōn ?	E.79, 117-viii/1 G-5		T. 213 n. 242.
Ṙwan	Ṙweł		E.114-115		
Ṙweł					*See* Ṙwan.
Sacasena					*See* Sakasenē.
Sahaṙunik'					T. 214 and n. 243. *See* Ch. XI p. 241.
Šahē					*See* Sophenē.
Sahib as-Serir					*See* Albania.
Šahunian Sophenē					*See* Sophenē.
Šakašēn	Šikašēn	Sakasenē	E.73, 118-xii/7 B6-B7		
Sakasenē	Sacasena	Šakašēn		P. V, xii, 4 S. XI, xiv, 4	T. 220, 467 n. 128, 482 and n. 199.
Šałagomk'	Šatgom Šałgamkʿ		E.73, 116-i/8 B-4		*See* Ch. III n. 1.
Salajor					*See* Salnoy-jor.
Šałgamkʿ					*See* Šałagomkʿ.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Salnoy-jor	Salajor Sanojor		E.79, 116-iii/10 G-4		
Sanasunitai		Sasun			T. 210.
Sanasunk'					*See* Sasun.
Šančan			E.73, 115 D-8		
Sanojor					*See* Salnoy jor.
Saraponik'					*See* Kart'unik'.
Sarauenē				S. XI, i, 4 CM Jd	
Sargaurasenē				P. V, vi, 12 S. XI, i, 4 ii, 6 CM Ke	
Šarur dašt			E.73, 118-xv/20 G-6		
Saspeiros					*See* Suspiritis.
Sasun	Sanasunk'	Sanasunitai	E. 79, 116-iii/11 G-4		
Šatgom					*See* Šałagomk'.
Satrapiae		Armenia Altera Ethnē Gentes Pentarchy		C.J., I, 29, 5 N. XXXI Aed. III, iv, 17	T. 131-135, 137, 138 n. 240, 170-175, 197. *See* Ch. II; V n. 66.
Saunitis					*See* Phaunitis.
Šawaršakan					*See* Šawaršam.
Šawaršam	Šawaršakan	Artaz ?	M.*X.* II, lxii		*See* Ch. XI n. 59.
Sawdk'					*See* Sōdk'.
Šawšedk'					*See* Šawšēt'.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Šawšēt'	Šawšedk'		E.73, 119-i/2 B-5		
Sephakan		Mardpetakan ? Vaspurakan			*See* Ch. IX n. 38; XI nn. 66, 66a.
Sepuhrakan					. *See* Vaspurakan.
Šikašēn					. *See* Šakašēn.
Širak		Sirakenē Süregel	E.73-74, 118-xv/8 B-5		
Širakan					. *See* Nor Širakan.
Sirakenē		Širak Süregel		P. V, xii, 4	T. 202, 206 *See* Ch. XI nn. 2c-d, 3.
Sisagan					. *See* Siwnik'.
Sisajan					. *See* Siwnik'.
Sisakan			Z.M. 144		*See* Siwnik'.
Sisakan i Kotak	Sisakan Ostan	Lesser Siwnik' Miws Haband	E.70, 117		
Siwnik'	Sisakan Sisajan	Sunitai	E.81, 117-ix B6-G7		T. 129, 131-132, 137, 148, 214 n. 244, 241, 323, 332. *See* Ch. IX nn. 13b, 14-15, XIV n. 72.
Sōdk'	Cawdk' Sawdk' Zawdk' Sot'k'	Sodukenē Arçaχ	E.80 B-6		*See* Ch. X pp. 194,199,230. Not to be confused with Cawdēk' q.v.
Sodukenē		Sōdk'		P. V, xii, 4	T. 182 n. 146.
Sōf					. *See* Sophenē.
Sōphan-āyē					. *See* Sophanenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Sophanenē	Tzophanenē	Copaç kołmn		C.Th. XX, xviii	T. 131, 137-138, n. 240, 139,
		Cop'k' Mec		C.J. I, 29, 5	166 n. 63, 167-168, 170-171,
		Greater Sophenē		N. XXXI	173 n. 103, 174, 175, 179, 237
		Lower Sophenē		Aed. III, ii, 2	n. 306, 241, 304.
		Sōphan-āyē		iii, 1	*See* Ch. II nn. 20a, 21-23b.
		Supani			
Sophenē	Tzophane	Cop'k' Šahuni		P. V, xii, 6	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166-167
		Lesser Sophenē		S. XI, xii, 3-4	and n. 63, 170 n. 88, 235 n. 306,
		Upper Sophenē		xiv, 2	241, 285-287, 298, 304-305.
		Šahunian Sophenē		XII, ii, 1	*See* Ch. II nn. 20a, 21-24.
		Šahē		C.J. I, 29, 5	Used both as a restrictive and
		Sōf		N. XXXI	a general toponym.
		Sūph		de B. i	*See* also Asorestan.
		Syrian March		CM Ne	
Šoragyal					. *See* Süregel.
Sot'k'					. *See* Sōdk'.
Spandaran-Perož			E.81, 117-xi/8 G7-G8		
Sper		Suspiritis	E.81, 116-i/7		
		Pharangion	B-4		
		Ispir kazasi			
Sunitai		Siwnik'		Pers. I, xv, 1	
Supani					. *See* Sophanenē.
Sūph					. *See* Sophenē.
Süregel	Šoragyal	Širak			G. 578, 40°45'N × 43°36'E.
Suspiritis	Hesperites	Sper		H.	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 202,
	Saspeiros	Pharangion		X. VII, viii, 25	233 n. 291, 241, 315, 321-322

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
		Ispir kazasi		S. XI, xiv, 9 Pers. II, xxix, 4 CM Oc.	n. 76, 323 n. 77, 81, 326, 342, 455 n. 73, 456 n. 77, 464 n. 117, 466 n. 123, 467 n. 126. *See* Ch. I n. 43; III n. 12a.
Syria I				N. XX	
Syria II				N. VIII	
Syria, Coele				N.D.	
Syria Salutaris				N.D.	
Syrian March					*See* Sophenē.
Tamberk‘	Tambēt‘		E.84, 117-vii/6 D-6		
Tambēt‘					*See* Tamberk‘.
Tamoritis		Tmorik’ Kordrik’			T. 200, 202, 322, 323 n. 78.
Tankriayn					*See* Taygrean.
Tanuterakan tun					*See* Ch. IX pp. 180-182.
Tao		Tayk’			*See* Tayk’.
Taparastan					*See* Taprəstan.
T‘ar					*See* T‘awr.
Taprəstan	Taparastan		E.114-115.		
Taraunitis		Tarawn		Pers. II, xxv, 35 CM Pe	T. 132, 202, 209-210, 212, 215, 218, 314, 324 n. 81, 351. *See* Ch. XI nn. 29-30, 34.
Tarawn	Tarōn	Taraunitis	E.85, 116-iv/3 G-4		
Tarōn					*See* Tarawn.
Taruberan	Tawruberan Turuberan		E.85, 116-iv G4-G5		T. 129, 132, 148, 199, 205 n. 234, 209, 212, 312. *See* Ch. XI n. 30.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Tašir			E.85, 119-v/4 B-6		
Tatik			E.85, 116-iii/6 G-5		
T'awr	T'ar T'or		E.53, 119-ii/3 B-5		
Tawruberan					*See* Taruberan.
Taχtin	Takhtin	Kars?			*See* Ch. XI n. 3b.
Taygrean	Tankriayn Tagrean		E.84, 117-viii/31 G-6		
Tayk'		Tao	E.84, 117-xiv B4-B5		T. 129, 131-132, 148, 202, 204-205, 209-210, 211 n. 238, 231 n. 285, 324 n. 81, 439-445, 450, 452-457, 460 n. 98, 467, 470, 485-486, 491-498. *See* Ch. III n. 24a; XI n. 31.
Tercan kazasi		Derxenē Derǰan			G. 595, 39°45'N × 40°25'E.
Thospitis		Tosp		P. V, xii, 8	
Thracia (d.)				N.D.	
T'ianet'			E.53, 119-vi/4 A-6		
Tmorik'		Tamoritis Kordrik'	E.86 D-5		
T'onṙawan					*See* T'oṙnawan.
T'or					*See* T'awr.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
T’oṙnawan	Tonrawan		E.53, 117-viii/19 G5-G6		
Tosp	Tosb	Thospitis	E.86, 117-viii/2 G-5		
Towarcatap’		Karayazi kazasi	E.86, 116-iv/7 G4-G5		*See* Ch. XI n. 53.
T‘rabi	T‘rap‘i		E.54, 117-vii/3 D-6		
T‘rap‘i. . . .					*See* T‘rabi.
T‘ṙełk‘		T‘rialēt‘i	E.54, 119-v/6 B5-B6		
Tṙi			E.86, 118-xii/2 B-7		
T‘rialēt‘i					*See* T‘ṙełk‘.
Trpatunik’	Atrpatunik‘		E.86, 117-viii/12 D-5		T. 221, 235 n. 301.
Trunik’					*See* Ch. XI n. 75.
Tučk‘atak. . . .					*See* Tus K‘ustak.
Tur Abdin	Tuṙapdin	Cawdeayk’ Zabdīkenē	E.86 D-4		
Turuberan					*See* Taruberan.
Tus K‘ustak	Tučk‘atak		E.86, 118-xii/5 B-6		
Tyanitis				P. V, vi, 17 S. XII, i, 4 ii, 7	
Tzanika		Čanet’i		Goth. IV, iii, 3 Aed. III, vi, 1, 18	T. 255. 458-460 n. 98.
Tzophenē				N. XXXI	*See* Sophenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Tzophanenē				N. XXXI	*See* Sophanenē.
Upper Sophenē					*See* Sophenē.
Urc	Urcajor		E.76, 118-xv/21		T. 222.
			G-6		*See* Ch. XI n. 4d.
Urcajor					*See* Urc.
Utik'	Uitia	Otenē	E.75-76, 118-xii		
			B6-B7		
Vakunik'					*See* Vaykunik'.
Vanand		Upper Basean	E.82, 118-xv/9		T. 215.
			B-5		*See* Ch. XI n. 2a.
Varažnunik' (1)		Darachichak ?	E.82 (1) 118-xv/18		T. 222.
		Całkunik'	B-6		*See* Ch. XI nn. 54, 76.
Varažnunik' (2)	Važnunik'		E.82 (3) 116-ii/10		*See* Ch. XI n. 54.
			G-4		
Varažnunik' (3)	Važnunik'		E.82 (2) 117-viii/33		*See* Ch. XI n. 76.
	Vižanunik'		B-6		
Varǰan					*See* Iberia.
Vaspurakan	Aspurakan	Sepuhrakan	E.82, 117-viii		T. 129, 131-132, 148, 197, 200,
			G5-G6		202-206, 212, 215, 220-222, 323
					nn. 78, 81, 331-332, 381.
					See Ch. IX n. 38; XI nn. 66, 66a.
Vayç					*See* Vayoç jor.
Vaykunik'	Vakunik'		E.82, 117-x/2		
			B-7		
Vayoç jor	Vayç		E.82, 117-ix/3		
			G-6		
Važnunik'					*See* Varažnunik' (2, 3).
Viǰac					*See* Miǰa.
Virk'	Veṙia	Iberia	E. 104, 119		
	Varǰan		B5-B6		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	REFERENCES CLASSICAL	NOTES
Vižanunik'					*See* Varažnunik' (3) and Ch. XI n. 76.
*X*ançi*χ*ē	*X*aniç*χ*		E.55, 119-iv/5 B-6		
*X*aniç*χ*					*See* *X*ançi*χ*ē.
*X*ar					Hēr.
*X*erhet'k'					Er*χ*et'k'.
*X*erk			E.55, 119-vi/2 B-6		
*X*ōrasān k'ustak	Khorrasan		E.114		
*X*orjayn	*X*orjean *X*orjēn Khordzen	Chorzanē Kiği kazasi	E.55, 116-ii/1 G-4		
*X*orjean					*See* *X*orjayn.
*X*orjēn					*See* *X*orjayn.
*X*orwaran k'ustak			E.114-115		
*X*or*χ*oṙunik'		Bulanik ?	E.55, 116-iv/16 G-5		T. 208-209.
*X*oyt'			E.55, 116-iv/1 G-5		T. 312. *See* Ch. XI n. 44.
Xerxenē				S. XI, xiv, 5	*See* Derxenē.
bē*θ* Zabdē	Bzabdē		S.O. 272		*See* Zabdikenē.
Zabdianē				A.M., XXV, xix, 9	*See* Zabdikenē.
Zabdikenē	Zabdianē	bē*θ* Zabdē Cawdeayk' Tur Abdin		A.M. XXV, xix, 9 P. P, xiv	T. 131, 166 n. 63, 180, 182 n. 146.
Zachunuc					*See* Całkotn.
Zangi bazar		Kotayk' ?			*See* Ch. XI p. 238.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES EASTERN	 CLASSICAL	NOTES
Zarawand	Zarewand		E.51, 117-vii/8 G-6		T. 305 n. 119. Later fused with Her into Ṙotak q.v.
Zarēhawan			E.52, 117-vii/7 G-6		T. 293, 305 n. 119, 310 n. 32.
Zarewand					*See* Zarawand.
Zawdk'					*See* Sōdk'.

B. Cities - Towns - Villages

The following abbrevations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

I.A.	*Itinerarium Antonini*
T.P.	*Tabula Peutingeriana*
M.	Miller, C., *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916).

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abaxa	Auaxa Auasa	Awaz	N.D.		*See* Ch. V n. 15a.
Adamakert	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Hadamakert.
Aeliana		Arna ?	N.D.		
Afision	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Fis.
Afşin		Yarpuz Arabissos ? Uarsapa ?	G. 7 38°15' × 36°55'	U. 341 B IV	
Afumōn		Fum ?			*See* Ch. I nn. 17, 17a, 19a.
Ağil	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Eğil.
Akbas	Aqbā Okbas	Anōšarvān-Kala ?			*See* Ch. I nn. 14-16a.
Akçan		Ołakan	G. 16 (2) 38°53' × 41°34'	U. 340 A III	T. 209.
Akn	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Egin.
Alacahan	Alaǰaχan Aladja Han	Aranis	G. 26 39°02' × 37°37' E. 37	E. G-2	
Aladarariza	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Olotoedariza.
Aladja Han	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Alacahan.
Alaǰaχan	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*See* Alacahan.
Alaleisos					*See* Ch. I n. 21a.
Ałiorsk'					*See* Ch. XI n. 49.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aliws					*See* Ch. III n. 6.
Alki	Elki		E. 32, 60	E. G-5	
Alvar			G. 35 (2) $39^{0}56' \times 41^{0}37'$	U. 340 A II	
Amadia			E. 34	E. D-5	
Amaras					*See* Amaraz.
Amaraz	Amaras		E. 34	E. G-7, AA 106	*See* Ch. IX n. 22.
Amaseia					*See* Amasia.
Amasia	Amasya Amaseia		E. 34 TP	E. B-1, HW 21a. F-1 M 643 and f. 211	
Amasya	Amasia		G. 35 (2) $40^{0}39' \times 35^{0}51'$	U. 324 D IV	
Amid					*See* Amida.
Amida	Amid Amit'	Diyarbakir	E. 35 T.P.	E. D-4 H.W. 41, O-5, CM Of M 737-740, f. 238	*See* Ch IX n. 42.
Amit'					*See* Amida.
Analiba					*See* Analibna.
Analibla					*See* Analibna.
Analibna	Analiba Analibla	Daranalia	T.P., I.A. P. V, vi, 18 N.D. E. 33	M 645, 679 and 680 f. 223 CM Md	*See* Ch. III nn. 16a-b.
Anastasiopolis					*See* Dara.
Angł berd	Ağil	Eğil Karkathiokerta	E. 35 (1)	E. G-4 AA 106	T. 75 n. 83, 109 n. 168, 131 137 n. 240, 167-168, 176-179, 224, 297-303, 315. *See* Ch. XI n. 21; XIV n. 48.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Angł in Całkotn	Anglōn		E. 35 (2)	E. G-5	T. 310, 315, 319. *See* Ch. XI nn. 21, 22.
Anglōn					*See* Angł in Całkotn.
Ani in Daranałik'		Kemah	E. 35	E. G-3	T. 109 n. 168, 454 n. 64. *See* Ch. III nn. 1, 3a.
Ani in Širak			G. 37 40⁰32' × 43⁰34'	U. 325 D IV	T. 206, 207 n. 236.
Anōšarvān kala					*See* Akbas.
Antioch of Mygdonia					*See* Nisibis.
Anzit					*See* Anzita.
Anzita	Anzit Hinzīt	Ḥiṣn Ziyad Castellum Ziata Tilenzit	E 36	E. G-3	*See* Ch. II nn. 11b, 19a-c, 20.
Aqbā					*See* Akbas.
Arabessōn					*See* Artalesōn.
Arabissos		Afşin ? Yarpuz	T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 38	M 737-738, f. 237 E. G-2 CM Ke	
Arabrake					*See* Ch. IV p. 69.
Arahez					*See* Avaris.
Arakli					*See* Sürmene.
Aranē					*See* Aranis.
Arangas		Argaus ?	T.P.	M 682 and 681 f. 223 CM Ld	*See* Ch. IV n. 20.
Aranis	Aranē	Alacahan	P. V, vi, 21 I.A.	M 684 CM Ld	*See* Ch. IV n. 23.
Arapkir			G. 40 (1) 39⁰03' × 38⁰30'	U. 341 B II	
ad Aras		Izollu	E. 31 T.P.	E. G-3 M. 738, fig. 238	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Arasaka					*See* Şarkişla.
Arauracos	Araurica		I.A., N.D.	CM Md	
Araurica					*See* Arauracos.
Arbela			E. 49	AA 104, HW 21a G-2	*See* Ch. IX n. 33.
Arcas	Arka Arkas Arkē	Arga	I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C.	M 736 and f. 237 CM Me	*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
Arcat'i	Arzuti			AA 106	*See* Arzuti.
Arčēš		Arcis	E. 39	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 205 n. 234.
Arcis		Arčēš Erçiş	G. 41 39^{0}00' × 43^{0}19'	U. 340 B IV	
Arcn			E.58	AA 106	*See also* Karin.
Ardasa		Torul	G. 41 40^{0}35' × 39^{0}18'	AA 106	
Areōn					*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Aṙest	Aṙestawan Arrestōn		E. 37	E. G-5	*See* Ch. I nn. 11-12a.
Aṙestawan					*See* Aṙest.
Arga		Arcas	G. 42 (2) 38^{0}21' × 37^{0}59'		
Argaun	Argaus Arangas ? Arguvas ?	Tahir ?	E. 39	E. G-2	*See* Ch. IV n. 20.
Argaus					*See* Argaun.
Arghana Maden			G. 42 38^{0}23' × 39^{0}40'	U. 340 A IV	
Arguvan					*See* Arguvas.
Arguvas	Arguvan	Arangas ? Argaun ?	G. 42 38^{0}47' × 38^{0}17'	U. 341 B III	
Ariarathē					*See* Ariarathia.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Ariaratheia					*See* Ariarathia.
Ariarathia	Ariarathē Ariaratheia	Aziziye ?	C.Th. XXX, xi, 2 C.J. XI, 47, 1 ad L., H.S., G.C.	HW 20a D-2 CM Ke	*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
Arizan					*See* Erēz
Arka					*See* Arcas.
Arkathiokerta					*See* Karkathiokerta.
Arkē					*See* Arcas.
Arna		Aeliana ?	E. 37	E. G-6	
Arrestōn					*See* Aŕest.
Arsamosata	Ašmušat Šamšat Šamšey Šamušat Šamuši Šamušia Šimšat	Yarimca	E.40	E. G-3 CM Ne	T. 75 n. 83, 210. *See* Ch. II nn. 17-19.
Artales					*See* Artalesōn.
Artalesōn	Artales	Endires ?			*See* Ch. I pp, 19-20 and n. 36.
Artašat		Artaxata	E. 41	E. G-6	
Artaxata					*See* Artašat.
Artvin			G. 46 41°11' × 41°49'	U. 324 C III	
Arzuti	Arcat'i ?		G. 46 40°04' × 41°16'	U. 324 C III	
Asagi Kirvaz		Kowars ? Kiravi ?		U. 340 A III	*See* Ch. I n. 30.
Aşkale			G. 55 (2) 39°55' × 40°42'	U. 340 A I	
Ašmušat					*See* Arsamosata.
Ašnak					*See* Ošakan.
Aštišat	Yaštišat		E. 36	E. G-4	T. 209. *See* Ch. II n. 4; XI n. 35.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Astłberd		Azakpert ? Kitharizōn ?		AA 104	*See* Ch. I n. 33a.
Athenae	At'ina Athenis		E. 32 T.P.	E. B-4, AA 106 M 648 and f. 212 CM Ob	*See* Ch. III n. 30.
Athenis					*See* Athenae.
At'ina					*See* Athenae.
Attachas	At't'aχ Attacha Hattah ?	Hindis ?		AA 106 CM Oe	*See* Ch. I nn. 7, 8a; V n. 15a.
At't'aχ					*See* Attachas.
Auasa					*See* Abaxa.
Auaxa					*See* Abaxa.
Avares					*See* Avaris.
Avaris	Avares	Arahez ?	G. 58 $40^{0}51' \times 41^{0}45'$	U. 324 C III	
Awaz					*See* Abaxa.
Aχkan					*See* Ołakan.
Aza					*See* Haza.
Azaghberd					*See* Azakpert.
Azakpert	Azaghberd	Astłberd ? Aznaberd ? Kitharizōn ?	G. 64 $39^{0}14' \times 40^{0}30'$	U. 340 A I	*See* Ch. I n. 33b.
Aziran					*See* Erēz.
Aziris			P. V, vi, 18		
Aziziye		Pirnabaşin Ariarathia ?	G. 64 $38^{0}44' \times 36^{0}24'$ E. 39	U. 341 B IV	
Aznaberd					*See* Azakpert.
Baberd		Bayburt		AA 106	
Bāb-al-Abwāb					*See* Darband.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
bēθ Bagas					*See* Başkale.
Bagawan		Bagauna	E. 42	E. G-5	T. 309, 319-320.
		Surb Karapet			*See* Ch. XI nn. 20, 27a.
Bagařič					*See* Bagayařič.
Bagayařič	Bagařič	Pekeriç	E. 42	E. G-4	*See* Ch. III n. 1.
Baghin					*See* Bağin.
Bağin	Baghin	Pałin	G. 62 (2)	U. 340 A I	
		Palios	$39^{0}00' \times 39^{0}55'$		
Baiberdōn		Bayburt			*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Baïoulouos					*See* Balu.
Balaleisōn					*See* Bałēš.
Bałēš	Bałałēš	Balaleison	E. 44	E. G-5	*See* Ch. IX n. 34.
		Bitlis		AA 106	
Balu		Baïoulouos	E. 43	E. G-3	*See* Ch. III n. 3.
		Palu		AA 106	
Banabelōn	Benabelōn				*See* Bnabeł.
Barchōn					*See* Ch. III n. 26c.
Bargiri					*See* Berkri.
Barissara					*See* Berissē.
Barsalium					*See* Barzalo.
Barzalo	Barsalium		T.P.	E. D-3	
			E. 44	M 684 and f. 224	
				CM Ne	
Baš Šoragyal					*See* Širakawan.
Başkale		Hadamakert	G. 78	U. 340 B IV	
		bēθ Bagas ?	$38^{0}02' \times 44^{0}00'$	AA 108	
Başsüregel	Baš Šoragyal	Širakawan	G. 80	U. 325 D IV	
			$40^{0}42' \times 43^{0}44'$		
Bayazet'					*See* Doğubayazit.
Bayburt	Baytberd	Baiberdōn	G. 82 (2)	U. 324 C IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
	Baberd		40°16' × 40°15' E. 44	AA 108 E. B-4	
Baytberd					*See* Bayburt.
Baz			G. 84 38°00' × 44°07'	U. 340 B IV	
Bazanis					*See* Bizana.
Bazmałbiwr		Xač		AA. 105	*See* Ch. III n. 6
Belhan					*See* Belikân.
Belikân	Bilikân Babikan	Belhan ? Belkania ?	G. 88 (2) 38°19' × 40°02'	U. 340 A IV.	
Belkania		Belhan ?			*See* Ch. IIn. 11b.
Benabelōn					*See* Bnabeł.
Benabil		Bnabeł	G 89 37°19' × 40°51'		*See* Ch. II nn. 5a, 6.
Berdaa					*See* Partaw.
Berisse	Barissara Verisa		ad L., G.C.		*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
Berkri	Bargiri	Muradiye	G. 77 39°00' × 43°43'	AA 106 U. 340 B IV	
Berzend					*See* Ch. IX n. 13.
Bezabdē	Bzabdē	Jazīrah ibn Omar		E. D-5	
Bitlis		Balaleisōn Bałēš	G. 98 38°22' × 42°06'	U. 340 A III	
Bizana	Bazanis Vizana	Leontopolis I Vižan			*See* Ch. III n. 26; VI nn. 28k, 29.
Blandos		Tutmaç ?	I.A.	M 683	
Blur					*See* Ch. XI n. 27a.
Bnabeł	Banabelōn	Benabil	E. 45	E. D-4	T. 137 n. 240, 168, 176-177.
Boğlan			G. 100 38°58' × 41°03'		
Boł					*See* Bołberd.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
	Baberd		40°16’ × 40°15’	AA 108	
			E. 44	E. B-4	
Baytberd					See Bayburt.
Baz			G. 84	U. 340 B IV	
			38°00’ × 44°07’		
Bazanis					See Bizana.
Bazmałbiwr		*Xač*		AA. 105	*See* Ch. III n. 6
Belhan					See Belikân.
Belikân	Bilikân	Belhan ?	G. 88 (2)	U. 340 A IV.	
	Babikan	Belkania ?	38°19’ × 40°02’		
Belkania		Belhan ?			*See* Ch. IIn. 11b.
Benabelōn					See Bnabeł.
Benabil		Bnabeł	G 89		
			37°19’ × 40°51’		*See* Ch. II nn. 5a, 6.
Berdaa					See Partaw.
Berisse	Barissara		ad L., G.C.		*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
	Verisa				
Berkri	Bargiri	Muradiye	G. 77	AA 106	
			39°00’ × 43°43’	U. 340 B IV	
Berzend					*See* Ch. IX n. 13.
Bezabdē	Bzabdē	Jazīrah ibn Omar		E. D-5	
Bitlis		Balaleisōn	G. 98	U. 340 A III	
		Bałēš	38°22’ × 42°06’		
Bizana	Bazanis	Leontopolis I			*See* Ch. III n. 26; VI nn. 28k,
	Vizana	Vižan			29.
Blandos		Tutmaç ?	I.A.	M 683	
Blur					*See* Ch. XI n. 27a.
Bnabeł	Banabelōn	Benabil	E. 45	E. D-4	T. 137 n. 240, 168, 176-177.
Boğlan			G. 100		
			38°58’ × 41°03’		
Boł					See Bołberd.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Bołberd	Boł Bolōn	Vałaršakert ? Buğakale ? Porpes	E. 45	E. B-4 AA 106	*See* Ch. I nn. 39a, 40-43; XI n. 3c.
Borbas					*See* Porpēs.
Bourg					*See* Bourgousnoes.
Bourgousnoes	Bourg				*See* Ch. III n. 27.
Brisa			N. XXXI		
Brnakapan		Pirnakapan	E. 46 (2)	E. G-4 AA 106	*See* Ch. III n. 12.
Bubalia			T.P.	M. 680, f. 223	*See* Ch. IV n. 17.
Buğakale		Bołberd ?	G. 108 $40^{0}12' \times 41^{0}41'$	U. 324 C III	
Büyük Tuy					*See* Du.
Caene Parembole	Kainē Parembolē		N.D.		*See* Ch. V n. 19.
Caesarea of Cappadocia		Eusebeia Mazaka Kayseri	I.A., T.P. E. 58	M 729 and f. 234 HW 41 N-5 E. B-7 CM Je	*See* Ch. IV n. 7.
Çaldiran			G. 122 (3) $39^{0}09' \times 43^{0}52'$	U. 340 B I	
Caleorsissa	Kaltiorissa Caltiorissa	Gölaris ? Olotoedariza ?	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A.	M. 679 and 680 f. 223 CM Md	*See* Ch. IV n. 16b.
Całik					*See* Zağki.
Całki					*See* Zağki.
Caltiorissa					*See* Caleorsissa.
Camisa	Comassa	Kemis ? Hafik, Koçhhisar ?	T.P., I.A.	M. 730 and 676 f. 222 CM Ld	
Čapakǰur	Čapłǰur	Kitharizōn ?	G. 129 $38^{0}50' \times 40^{0}12'$	AA 106	
Carape					*See* Karape.
Carcathiocerta					*See* Karkathiokerta.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Carsat					See Garsagis.
Casara					See Kasara.
Castellum Ziata					See Anzita.
Çemişgezek	Čmškacak		G. 141 $39^{0}04' \times 38^{0}55'$		
Cena					See Kena.
Cerasus					See Kerasos.
Çerme		J̌ermay	G. 144 (5) $39^{0}37' \times 40^{0}37'$	AA 105	
Çermik		Ciaca ?	G. 144 (2) $38^{0}42' \times 38^{0}27'$	U. 341 B IV	
Charaba					See Xaraba Barbas.
Charax			P. V, vi, 18	CM Dc	
Charsianōn	Charsianum Charsiane	Horsana ?		CM Jd	
Charsianum					See Charsianōn.
Chartōn					See Hart.
Chaszanenica		Gizenica Hadzana ? Larhan ?	T.P. N.D.	M. 681 and 641 f. 212	See Ch. V n. 17.
Chiaca					See Ciaca.
Chlomarōn		Kłimar			See Ch. I nn. 17, 18a.
Chorsabia			P. V, vi, 18		
Ciaca	Chiaca Kiakis Kiakkas	Craca Çermik ?	P. V, vi, 19-21 T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 59	M. 682 and 680 f. 223 E. G-3	
Cimin	Čimin J̌imin	Tzumina Justinianopolis	G. 152 $39^{0}43' \times 39^{0}44'$	U. 340 A I	
Citharizon					See Kitharizōn.

Claudia	Glaudia		T.P.	M. 684 and f. 224	
	Klaudias		P. V, vi, 24	CM Me	
	Kławdias		E. 59	E. G-3	
Čmškacag					See Çemişgezek.
Cocuso					See Kukusos.
Cölemerik					See J̌ulamerk.
Colonia					See Koloneia.
Comana					See Komana.
Comassa					See Camisa.
Corne	Kornē		T.P.	M. 684 and 683 f. 224	
				CM Me	
Coucarizon					See Kukarizōn.
Covk'			E. 56-57	E. G-3	
				AA 106	
Craca					See Ciaca.
Ctesiphon		Tizbon		HW 41 O-6	See Ch. XIII n. 25.
		Madā'in			
Cunissa			T.P., I.A.	M. 676 and 645 f. 212	See Ch. IV n. 16a.
Dadima					See Dadimon.
Dadimon	Dadima			CM Ne	See Ch. IX n. 42.
Dagalasso		Megalasso ?	I.A.	CM Md	See Ch. IV n. 16.
Dagona	Doganis		P. V, vi, 18		
			T.P.	M. 730 and 676 f. 222	
			E. 48	E. G-2	
Dalana			P. V, vi, 18		
Dandaxena	Dandaxina		I.A.	M. 736 and f. 237	
			E. 48	E. G-2	
Dara	Kara Dara	Anastasiopolis	G. 168	U. 340 D II	See Ch. I n. 3.
			37°10' × 40°58'	HW 43 O-5	
				CM Pf	
Darband	Derbend	Bāb-al-Abwāb	E. 49	E. A-8	
	Derbent				

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Darende		Taranta	G. 169 $38^{0}34' \times 37^{0}30'$	U. 341 B III	*See* also Osdara.
Darewniç Berd					*See* Dariwnk'.
Darioza		Derreigazan ?			*See* Ch. I n. 38a.
Dariwnk'	Daroynk' Darewniç Berd	Doğubayazit	E. 49	E. G-6 AA 106	T. 202, 321-323, 322 n. 77, 342-343, 344 n. 16. *See* Ch. XI n. 19a, 24-25.
Daroynk'					*See* Dariwnk'.
Dascusa	Daskusa Daseusa		P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 48	CM Me M. 682 and 680 f. 223 E. G-3	*See* Ch. IV n. 19a.
Daseusa					*See* Dascusa.
Daskusa					*See* Dascusa.
Dasteira		Dostal	E. 48	E. G-3	*See* Ch. III n. 15a.
Deh Naχiragān					*See* Deh Xargan.
Deh Xarakan					*See* Deh Xargan.
Deh-Xargan	Dehχarakan	Deh Naχiragān		AA 106	
Deir					*See* Der.
Deliktaş		Euspoena	G. 175 $39^{0}21' \times 37^{0}13'$	U. 341 B-1	
Der	Deir	Şikefti	G. 178 $38^{0}09' \times 44^{0}12'$		
Derik			G. 183 (1) $37^{0}22' \times 40^{0}17'$	U. 340 D I	
Divrigi		Tephrikē Teucila ? Tevrik	G. 190 $39^{0}23' \times 38^{0}07'$	U. 341 B II	*See* Ch. IV n. 19.
Diyadin		Tateōnk'	G. 190 (3) $39^{0}33' \times 43^{0}40'$	U. 340 B I AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Diyarbakir	Diyarbekir	Amida	G. 190 $37^{0}55' \times 40^{0}14'$	U. 340 D I	*See* Ch. I n. 8.
Diyarbekir					*See* Diyarbakir.
Diza					*See* Gever.
Djanik		Samsun	G. 191 $41^{0}17' \times 36^{0}20'$	U. 324 D I	
Djelu		Çal ?			Unidentifiable.
Doganis					*See* Dagona.
Doğubayazit	Bayazet'	Dariwnk'	G. 82 $39^{0}32' \times 44^{0}08'$	U. 340 B-I	
Domana			P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. N.D.	CM Oc M. 682 and 646 f. 212	
Dostal		Dasteira	G. 195 $39^{0}28' \times 38^{0}30'$	U. 341 B II	
Doubios					*See* Dwin.
Dracones	Draconis Dracontes	Melikşerif ? Chapul Köpru ?	T.P., I.A. E. 49	M. 676 and 645 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Mc	*See* Ch. IV nn. 16a, 17.
Draconis					*See* Dracones.
Dracontes					*See* Dracones.
Du	Tuy	Büyük Tuy Küçük Tuy	G. 432 (Küçük) $40^{0}00' \times 41^{0}26'$	U. 340 A II (Büyük)	*See* Ch. I nn. 38c, 39.
Dwin		Doubios	E. 49	E. G-6 AA 106	*See* Ch. I n. 18.
Eğil	Ağil	Angł Berd	G. 202 $38^{0}15' \times 40^{0}05'$	U. 340 A IV	
Egen					*See* Eğin.
Eğin	Ekin Egen	Akn	G. 202 $39^{0}16' \times 38^{0}29'$	U. 341 B III	
Eken					*See* Eğin.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Ełanç	Ełnut Ołnut	Oğnut			*See* Ch. I nn. 29, 30.
Elbistan		Plasta	G. 205 (1) $38^{0}13' \times 37^{0}12'$	U. 341 B IV	
Ełegaȓič					*See* Elegarsina.
Elegarsina	Ełegaȓič	Kamişli dere	T.P. E. 50	M. 682 E. G-3	
Ełind	Erind Rint			T.A. 1/d	
Elki	Alki		G. 206 $37^{0}24' \times 43^{0}10'$	U. 340 C I	
Ełnut					*See* Oğnut.
Enderis	Endires Endiryas Henderis	Suşehri Artalesōn ?	G. 210 $40^{0}11' \times 38^{0}06'$	U. 324 D III	*See* Ch. I n. 36.
Endires					*See* Enderis.
Endiryas					*See* Enderis.
Eȓand					*See* Rhandeia.
Eraχani					*See* Erkinis.
Erçiş					*See* Arciş.
Erēz	Eriza Erezawan Erznka	Erzincan Arizan ? Aziran ?	E. 50	E. G-3 AA 106	*See* Ch. I nn. 28, 28a, 32, 32a.
Erēzawan					*See* Erēz.
Erind					*See* Ełind.
Eriza					*See* Erēz.
Erkinis		Eraχani Irχan	G. 213 $40^{0}33' \times 41^{0}43'$		
Erumya					*See* Urumya.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Erzincan		Erēz	G. 214 $39^{0}44' \times 39^{0}29'$	U. 340 A I	
Erznka					*See* Erēz.
Erzurum		Theodosiopolis Karin	G. 214 $39^{0}55' \times 41^{0}17'$	U. 340 A II	
Eski Mosul					*See* Nineveh.
Euchaïta				CM Ic	*See* Ch. VII n. 18.
Eudoixata			P. V, vi, 18		
Eumeis			I.A.	M 675	
Eusebeia					*See* Caesarea of Cappadocia.
Euspoena		Deliktaş	I.A.	M 683 CM Ld	
Fataχ					*See* Phathachōn.
Fidi		Pydna	G. 225 $40^{0}43' \times 36^{0}27'$	U. 324 D IV	
Fis	Afisios Affis	Pheison	G. 226 $38^{0}20' \times 40^{0}34'$	U. 340 A IV	*See* Ch. I n. 21.
Fittar					*See* Phitar.
Fum	Pum	Afumōn ?			*See* Ch. I n. 17a.
Gałtaṙič					*See* *X*aldoy aṙič.
Ganjak	Ganzaca Ganzaka Ganjak Šahastan	Shīz Takht i Suleiman	E.46	E. D-4 HW 41 P-5	*See* Ch. I n. 1; IX nn. 27, 28.
Ganjak Šahastan					*See* Ganjak.
Ganzaca					*See* Ganjak.
Garissa					*See* Garsi.
Gaṙni in Daranałik'	Karni		E. 46 (3)	E. G-3	
Gaṙni in Kotayk'			E. 46 (2)	E. G-5 AA 106	
Garsagis	*Garsanis	Carsat Gercanis	I.A.	M 675	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
*Garsanis					*See* Garsagis.
Garsi	Garissa	Karissa	E. 47	E. B-1	
			T.P.	M 678 and 675 f. 222	
Garzan					*See* Zok.
Garzanissa					*See* Gercanis.
Gawaṙ					*See* Gever.
Gazaca					*See* Ganjak.
Geğik	Gelik	Giwłik	G. 232		
	Geyik		$40^{0}11' \times 40^{0}44'$	U. 324 C IV	
Gelik					*See* Geğik.
Gercanis	Gerdjanis	Gersagis	G. 234		
	Kerčanis	Garzanissa	$39^{0}54' \times 38^{0}46'$		
		Refahiye ?	E. 58	E. G-3	
Germani Fossatum		Krom ?	Aed. III, iv, 10		*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Gersagis					*See* Gercanis.
Gever	Gawaṙ	Bagas ?		AA 106	*See* Ch. IX nn. 33, 34.
	Bałeš gewer ?				
Girvaz					*See* Guvars.
Giwłik					*See* Geğik.
Gizenica					*See* Chaszanenica.
Glaudia					*See* Claudia.
Godasa	Gundusa	Gündüz ?	P. V, vi, 18	M. 675	
			I.A.		
Göksun		Kukusos	G. 244	U. 341 B IV	
			$38^{0}03' \times 36^{0}30'$		
Gölaris	Göller köyü	Caleorsissa ?		U. 341 B II	*See* Ch. IV n. 16f.
Göller köyü					*See* Gölaris.
Gömenek		Komana Pontica	G. 248	U. 324 D IV	
			$40^{0}23' \times 36^{0}39'$		

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Gümüşane	Gümüşhane		G. 255 41°07' × 41°56'	U. 324 C II	
Gümüshane					*See* Gümüşane.
Gundusa					*See* Godasa.
Gündüz	Güdüz	Godasa ?	G. 252 39°34' × 37°21'		
Gurpinar					*See* Kangawar.
Guvars	Girvaz				*See* Kowars.
Haçiwn		Haysun	E. 62	E. G-6 AA 106	
Haçköy		*Xač* Bazmałbiwr	G. 267 39°39' × 40°40'	U. 340 A I	*See* Ch. III n. 10.
Hadamakert	Adamakert	Başkale	E. 62	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 199-200. *See* Ch. XI n. 71.
Hadzana					*See* Chaszanenica.
Hafik					*See* Koçhisar.
Hahi		*Xaχ* ?	G. 267 38°54' × 39°32'	U. 340 A IV	
Halan	Halane	Horonōn			*See* Ch. III n. 31b.
Halane					*See* Halan.
Hamšen					*See* Hemşin.
Hamurgân					*See* Sürmene.
Han					*See* Hani.
Hani	Han		G. 274 (1) 38°24' × 40°24'	U. 340 A IV	
Hapul köpru	Chapul Köpru	Dracones			*See* Ch. IV n. 17.
Haraba					*See* Harabe.
Harabe köy	Haraba Mezraasi	Porpēs ? Jiwnakert ?	G. 275 (1) 38°57' × 41°02'	U. 340 A III	*See* Ch. I n. 33.
Hare-berd					*See* *X*arberd.
Haris			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Harput	Kharput	Xarberd	G. 277 $38^{0}43' \times 39^{0}15'$	U. 340 A IV	
Hars		T'uχars	G. 277 $40^{0}39' \times 41^{0}37'$	U. 324 C III	*See* Ch. I n. 44.
Hart	Khart	Chartōn	G. 277 (2) $40^{0}25' \times 40^{0}09'$	U. 324 C IV	
Harta-berd					*See* Xarberd.
Hasan Badrik					*See* Hasanbatrik.
Hasanbatrik	Hasan Badrik	Pisonos	G. 278 $38^{0}36' \times 38^{0}11'$		*See* Ch. IV n. 22.
Hasançelebi		ad Praetorium	G. 278 $38^{0}58' \times 37^{0}54'$	U. 341 B II	
Hasankale		Vałaršakert	G. 279 $39^{0}59' \times 41^{0}41'$	U. 340 A II	*See also* Bołberd.
Haşara		Chaszanenica ?	G. 279 $40^{0}30' \times 39^{0}28'$	U. 324 C IV	
Hasras			G. 280 $37^{0}57' \times 42^{0}16'$	U. 340 D II	
Hassis					*See* Haza.
Hattah					*See* Attachas.
Haysun					*See* Haçiwn.
Haza	Aza	Hassis	T.P., I.A. E. 31	M. 676 and 654 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Nc	*See* Ch. IV n. 24.
Hazm					*See* Hazro.
Hazro	Hazru Hazm		G. 284 $38^{0}15' \times 40^{0}47'$	U. 340 A III	
Hemşin		Hamšen	G. 285 $41^{0}00' \times 40^{0}53'$	U. 324 C IV	
Henderis					*See* Enderis.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Hēr	*X*er	*X*oy	E. 63	E. G-6	
Hindis					*See* Attachas.
Hinis		*X*nus	G. 289 (2) 39°22' × 41°44'	U. 340 A II	
Hinzīt					*See* Anzita.
Ḥiṣn Ziyād					*See* *X*arberd.
Hispa		Saracik	T.P. E. 63	M. 682 and 680 f. 223 E. G-3	
Hogeaç vank'					*See* Ch. IX n. 23a
Horē berd	*X*orē berd	*X*arberd	E. 63	E. G-3	*See* Ch. II n. 15.
Hoṙomos vank'					*See* Ch. XI n. 17.
Horonōn		Halane			*See* Ch. III nn. 26b, 31b.
Horsana	Chorzana	Charsianōn ? Orsa ?	G. 294 (2) 39°45' × 37°14'	U. 341 B-I	*See* Ch. IV nn. 27, 28.
Hozat		*X*ozan ?	G. 296 39°07' × 39°14'	U. 340 A I	
Hula					*See* Hulvenk.
Hulvenk		Hula vank'	G. 296 38°42' × 39°09'	U. 340 A IV	*See* Ch. II nn. 10, 11, 16.
Humurgân					*See* Sürmene.
Hypselē					*See* Ipsile.
Iliğe		Lice	G. 450 38°28' × 40°39'	U. 340 A IV	
Ipsala					*See* Ipsile.
Ipsele					*See* Ipsile.
Ipsile	Ipsala Ipsele	Hypselē	G. 311 40°14' × 37°33' E. 54	U. 324 D III CM Lc E. B-2	*See* Ch. IV n. 26.
Irχan					*See* Erkinis.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Işhan		Išχan	G. 312 (2) $40^{0}48' \times 41^{0}45'$	U. 324 C III	T. 455 n. 70.
Ispa			P. V, vi, 18		
Ispir			G. 316 $40^{0}29' \times 41^{0}00'$	U. 324 C III	
Išχan		Işhan	E. 54	E. B-4 AA 106	
Iuliopolis			E. 72 T.P.	CM Ne M. 658 and f. 216	*See* Ch. IV n. 9.
Ivora					*See* Ch. VII n. 18
Iz oglu					*See* Izolu.
Izolu	Iz oglu	ad Aras ?	G. 317 $38^{0}28' \times 38^{0}41'$		
Jazīrah ibn 'Omar	Jeziret ibn 'Omar	Bezabdē		AA 105	
Ĵenzan					*See* Zenjān.
Ĵermay					*See* Çerme.
Jeziret ibn 'Omar					*See* Jazīrah ibn 'Omar.
Ĵimin					*See* Cimin.
Jiwnakert	Jiwnkert	Porpēs Harabe köy ?	E. 62	E. G-4 AA 106	
Jiwnkert					*See* Jiwnakert.
Ĵulamerk	Çölemerik		G. 318 $37^{0}34' \times 43^{0}45'$	U. 340 C I AA 108	*See* Ch. XI n. 55.
Justinianopolis		Cimin			*See* Ch. VI p. 117 and n. 31; VII n. 21.
Kağdariç	Büyük Kağdariç Gałtařič	*X*aldoy ařič	G. 322 $39^{0}58' \times 40^{0}47'$	U. 340 A II	
Kağizman	Qaghyzman	Kałzwan	G. 322 $40^{0}09' \times 43^{0}07'$	M. 325 D IV	
Kainē-Parembolē					*See* Caene Parembole.
Kainēpolis					*See* Vałaršapat.
Kalajik					*See* Kalecik.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kalecik	Kalejcik Kalajik		G. 326 (16) $40^{0}27' \times 39^{0}18'$	U. 324 C IV	
Kalejcik					*See* Kalecik.
Kaltiorissa					*See* Caleorsissa.
Kałzewan					*See* Kałzwan.
Kałzwan	Kałzewan	Kağizman	E. 57	AA 106	
Kamacha					*See* Kamaχ.
Kamakh					*See* Kamaχ.
Kamaχ	Kamacha Kamakh	Kemah		AA 106	
Kamis	Kemis		E. 57	E. G-2	*See* Ch. IV n. 15a.
Kamişli dere					*See* Elegarsina.
Kamurǰajor Vank'				AA 106	
Kân	Kjan		G. 329 (3) $39^{0}57' \times 41^{0}16'$	U. 340 A II	
Kangeva					*See* Kangowar.
Kangever					*See* Kangowar.
Kangowar	Kangeva Kanguar	Kangever Gürpinar ?	E. 58	E. G-5 AA 106.	T. 198.
Kanguar					*See* Kangowar.
Kara Amida					*See* Amida.
Kara Dara					*See* Dara.
Karapē		Carape	P. V, vi, 18		
Karin	Karnoy k'ałak'	Theodosiopolis Erzurum	E. 58	E. G-4 AA 106	T.193-194 n. 209. *See* Ch. VI n. 28h, 36.
Karissa					*See* Garsi.
Karkathiokerta	Arkathiocerta Carcathiocerta	Martyropolis ? Angł berd	E. 35	CM Ne	T. 75 n. 83, 131, 137 n. 240, 297 n. 80. *See* Ch. II n. 5.
Karni	Gaṙni in Daranałik'		G. 362 $39^{0}40' \times 39^{0}14'$	U. 340 A I	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Karnoy k'ałak'					*See* Karin.
Kars	Karuç berd		G. 362 $40^{0}37' \times 43^{0}05'$ E. 58	U. 325 D IV AA 106 E. B-5	
Karuç berd					*See* Kars.
Kasara		Casara	P. V, vi, 18		
Kašē		Konşa ?	E. 58	E. G-1 AA 105	*See* Ch. III n. 6.
Kayseri		Caesarea of Cappadocia Eusebeia Mazaka	G. 373 $38^{0}43' \times 35^{0}30'$	U. 341 B IV	
Keban-Maden			G. 375 $38^{0}48' \times 38^{0}45'$	U. 341 B III	
Keli	Kołoberd	Kiği		AA 106	
Kemah	Kamaχ	Ani in Daranałik'	G. 378 (3) $39^{0}36' \times 39^{0}02'$	U. 340 A I	
Kemaliye					*See* Eğin.
Kemis					*See* Kamis.
Kena	Cena Okena				*See* Ch. III pp. 49,52 and n. 27.
Keomana					*See* Komana.
Keramon					*See* Krom.
Kerasos	Cerasus Kerasunta	Pharnakia	N. XXXI	HW 15c C-1 CM Mc	
Kerasunta					*See* Kerasos.
Kerčanis					*See* Gercanis.
Kharput					*See* Harput.
Khart					*See* Hart.
Khiaghid aridj					*See* Xaldoy ařič.
Kiakis					*See* Ciaca.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kiakkas					See Ciaca.
Kiği-Kasaba		Keġi Kołoberd	G. 386 39°20’ × 40°30’	U. 340 A I	
Kinkivar					See Kowars.
Kiravi	Kirvel		G. 391 38°54’ × 41°32’	U. 340 A III	See Ch. I n. 30.
Kirvel					See Kiravi.
K‘iš					See Kuş.
Kit’ařič	Qitrīz	Köderiç Kitharizōn ? Sheikh Selim Kala ?	E. 59	E. G-5 AA 104	See Ch. I n. 38.
Kitharizōn	Citharizon	Kit’arič ? Köderiç ? Sheikh Selim Kala ?		CM Ne	See Ch. I nn. 27,33b-37.
Kjan					See Kân.
Klaudias					See Claudia.
Kławdias					See Claudia.
K’łimar	Kutemřan	Chlomarōn	E. 89		See Ch. I n. 18a
Koçhisar	Şereflikoçhisar	Hafik Camisa ?	G. 411 (7) 39°52’ × 37°24’	U. 341 B II	
Köderiç		Kitharizōn ?	G. 411 38°54’ × 39°45’	U. 340 A IV	See Ch. I nn. 27, 33b.
Kokaris	Kokiris Kukalařič	Kukarizōn ?			See Ch. VI n. 33.
Koł					See Kołoberd.
Kołb	Kulp		E. 59	E. B-5	
Kołoberd	Koł	Keġi Kiği-Kasaba	E. 60	E. G-4	See Ch. I n. 26.
Kolona					See Koloneia.
Koloneia	Colonia Kolona Kołoniay	Şebinkarahissar Koyul hisar ?	ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 60	CM Mc E. B-2	See Ch. III nn. 25, 30b.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kołoniay					*See* Koloneia.
Komana Aurea	Comana Golden Comana	Şar	I.A., T.P. ad L. H.S., G.C.	HW 21a, F-2 M. 735-736 and f. 237 CM Ke	*See* Ch. IV n. 7.
Komana Pontica	Comana Komanta	Gömenek	T.P.	M. 674 and 676 f. 222 HW 21a F-1 CM Kc	*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
Komanta					*See* Komana Pontica.
Konşa		Kašē ?	G. 415 $38^0 32' \times 40^0 38'$	U. 340 A IV	
Kornē					*See* Corne.
Koropassos					*See* Zoropassos.
Kot'ēr		Kötür			*See* Ch. III n. 6.
Kötür	Khotour	Kot'ēr	G. 424 $39^0 43' \times 40^0 18'$	U. 340 A I	*See* Ch. III n. 7.
Kowark'					*See* Kowars.
Kowars	Kowark' Guvars ? Girvaz ?	Kiravi ? Asaği Kirvaz Girvaz komlari ?	E. 61		*See* Ch. I n. 30.
Koyulhisar		Koloneia ?	G. 425 $40^0 18' \times 37^0 51'$	U. 324 D IV	
Krčunik'					*See* Kurcivik.
Krom	Kroman Kürüman	Keramon Germani Fossatum ?	G. 428 $38^0 52' \times 40^0 20'$		*See* Ch. VI n. 35.
Küçük Tuy					*See* Du.
Kukarizōn		Kokaris ?	Aed. III, iv, 12		
Kukusos	Cucusus Cocuso	Göksun	I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C.	M. 736 and 735 f. 237 CM Ke	*See* Ch. IV n. 42a.
Kulp	Kołb	Tuzluca	G. 434 $40^0 03' \times 43^0 39'$		

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kurcivik		Krčunik' ?	G. 437 38°34' × 44°07'	U. 340 B IV	
Kurnuç		Mknaŕinč ?	G. 439 40°03' × 41°37'	U. 324 C III	
Kurucan			G. 442 38°37' × 44°16'	U. 340 B IV	See Ch. XI n. 62.
Küruman					*See* Krom.
Kuş	Kiš	Kasimi ?	G. 443 37°44' × 40°41'	U. 340 D I ?	
Kutemŕan					*See* Kłimar.
Larhan		Chaszanenica	G. 449 40°44' × 39°37'	U. 324 C IV	
Leontopolis					*See* Bizana *and* Zalichos.
Leri	Lerri	Leriōn Rumlik		U. 324 C IV	*See* Ch. VI n. 35.
Leriōn					*See* Leri.
Lerri					*See* Leri.
Lice					*See* Iliğe.
Lim	Limb	Lumb	E. 54	E. G-5	*See* Ch. XI n. 60.
Limb					*See* Lim.
Longini Fossatum					*See* Ch. III n. 27.
Lumb					*See* Lim.
Lysiormon			Aed. III, iv, 10		*See* Ch. III n. 25.
Lytararizōn	Lusatʿaŕič ?	Olotoedariza ?	Aed. III, iv, 10		*See* Ch. III n. 25; VI n. 34.
Madāʿin					*See* Ctesiphon.
Maden					*See* Arghana Maden.
Maipherkat					*See* Miyafarkin.
Maku		Šawaršan	E. 64	E. G-6 AA 106	T. 197.
Malatya		Melitenē	G. 455 (1) 38°21' × 38°19'	U. 341 B III	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Malazgirt	Masgirt Mazgert Mazgirt	Manazkert	G. 455 $39^{0}09' \times 42^{0}31'$	U. 340 B I	*See* Ch. XI n. 45.
Mamahatun			G. 456 $39^{0}47' \times 40^{0}24'$	U. 340 A I	
Manawazkert					*See* Manazkert.
Manazkert	Manawazkert Manzikert	Malazgirt	E. 65	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 218. *See* Ch. XI nn. 45, 51.
Manzikert					*See* Manazkert.
Maragay					*See* Ch. III n. 1.
Maragha				AA 105	
Maṙakan	Marakert	Marakend	E. 65	E. G-6 AA 106	*See* Ch. XI n. 61.
Marakert					*See* Maṙakan.
Marand			E. 65	E. G-6 AA 106	
Mardara			P. V, vi, 18.		
Mardē berd					*See* Mardin.
Mardin	Mardē berd		G. 459 (1) $37^{0}18' \times 40^{0}44'$ E. 65	U. 340 D I E. D-4	
Masgirt					*See* Malazgirt.
Martyropolis		Tigranakert Miyafarkin Np'rkert	Aed. III, ii, 2-3 Pers. I, viii, 22 xxi, 6	HW 43 O-5 CM Oe	T. 137-138 n. 240, 174. *See* Ch. I nn. 4-6.
Mastara				AA 109	
Mazaka					*See* Caesarea of Cappadocia.
Mazara		Mezrē ?			*See* Ch. II nn. 11b, 12a, 13.
Mcbin		Nisibis Nusaybin	E. 71	E. D-4 AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Megalasso	Megalossos	Dagalasso ?	T.P.	M. 730 and f. 234 CM Md	*See* Ch. IV n. 16.
Megalossos					*See* Megalasso.
Meletensis					*See* Melitenē.
Melikân		Artalesōn	G. 464 (2) 39°28' × 40°21'	U. 340 A I	
Melikşerif	Melikşerik ?	Dracones ?	G. 464 39°56' × 38°56'	U. 341 B II	*See* M. 682.
Melita	Metita Meteita		P. V, vi, 24 T.P., N.D. E. 70	 M. 684 and f. 224 E. G-3 CM Me	
Melitenē	Meletensis Melitine	Malatya	T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 66	M. 683 and f. 224 HW 41 N-5 E. G-6 CM Me	*See* Ch. IV n. 11
Melitine					*See* Melitenē.
Melomeran					*See* Mollaömer.
Mesoromē			T.P. 7 E. 70	M. 731 and 675 f. 222 E. B-2	
Metita					*See* Melita.
Miyafarkin	Maipherkat Muharkin Mufarlin	Martyropolis Tigranakert Np'rkert Silvan	G. 475 38°08' × 41°01'	U. 340 A III	*See* Ch. I nn. 9, 10.
Mknařinč					*See* Kurnuç.
Mochora		Mohola ? Muçura	N.D. G. 475 40°54' × 39°27'	 U. 324 C IV	*See* Ch. V n. 16a.
Mohola					*See* Mochora.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mollaömer	Molla Omer Mulla Omer Melomeran	Mormrean	G. 476 (2) $39^{0}27' \times 40^{0}45'$	U. 340 II	
Mormran . . .					. *See* Mormrean.
Mormrean	Mormran Morran	Mollaömer			*See* Ch. I n. 25.
Morran . . .					. *See* Mormrean.
Mren			E. 71	E. B-5 AA 106	T. 214 . *See* Ch. XI n. 18.
Mucura . . .					. *See* Mochora.
Mufarḫin . . .					. *See* Miyafarkin.
Muharkin . . .					. *See* Miyafarkin.
Mulla Omer . . .					. *See* Mollaömer.
Muradiye . . .					. *See* Berkri.
Nagan . . .					. *See* Nkan.
Naχčawan . . .					. *See* Naχiǰewan.
Naχiǰewan	Naχčawan	Naxuana	P. V, vii, 5 E. 72	AA 106 E. B-5	
Naxuana . . .					. *See* Naχiǰewan.
Neferkert . . .					. *See* Npʿrkert.
Neo Caesarea		Niksar	T.P.	M. 644 f. 211 HW 43 N-4 CM Lc	
Nerǰiki					*See* Ch. I n. 18a.
Nicopolis . . .					. *See* Nikopolis.
Nikopolis	Nicopolis	Pürk	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 72 (2)	HW 41 N-4 M. 675 and f. 222 CM Mc E. B-3	*See* Ch. III n. 25; IV nn. 14, 16a, 42a.
Niksar		Neo Caesarea	G. 488 $40^{0}36' \times 36^{0}58'$	U. 324 D IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Ninah					*See* Tortum.
Nineveh	Ninwē	Eski Mosul	E. 72	E. D-5 HW 10b C-1	
Ninwē					*See* Nineveh.
Nisibis		Antioch of Mygdonia Mcbin Nusaybin	T.P.	HW 41 O-5 M 770-771 and 741 f. 241 CM Pf	
Nisus					*See* Nyssa.
Nize		Nyssa ?	G. 489 $38^{0}46' \times 35^{0}41'$	U. 341 B IV	
Nkan	Nagan			AA 106	*See* Ch. XI n. 60.
Np'rkert	Np'ṙet Neferkert	Martyropolis Tigranakert Miyafarkin	E. 73	E. G-4 AA 106	
Np'ret					*See* Np'rkert.
Nusaybin		Nisibis Mcbin	G. 490 (4) $37^{0}03' \times 41^{0}13'$	U. 340 D II	
Nysa					*See* Nyssa.
Nyssa	Nisus Nysa	Nize ?	I.A.	M 661 and f. 217 CM He	*See* Ch. IV n. 10a.
Oğnut	Ełnut Ołnut Ołnuberd Ołin	Ełanç	G. 492 $39^{0}08' \times 40^{0}53'$	U. 340 A II	
Okbas					*See* Akbas.
*Okena					*See* Kena.
Okhda					*See* Otha.
Ołakan	Ołkan	Olanē Akçan Aχkan	E. 74	E. G-4	T. 209. *See* Ch. I n. 30; XI nn. 32, 37.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Olanē					*See* Ołakan.
Oleoberda	Ułeoy berd		T.P. E. 73	M. 679 and 680 f. 223 E. G-6	
Ołin					*See* Oğnut.
Ołkan					*See* Ołakan.
Ołnu berd					*See* Oğnut.
Ołnut					*See* Oğnut.
Olotoedariza		Aladarariza ? Caleorsissa ? Lytararizōn ?	I.A., N.D. E. 32	M 675 and 645 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Mc	*See* Ch. V n. 15.
Olti					*See* Oltu.
Oltu	Olti		G. 493 $40^0 33' \times 41^0 59'$	U. 324 C III AA 108	
Ordru					*See* Ordu.
Ordu	Ordru				*See* Ortuzu.
Orǰnhał					*See* Oşnak.
Oromandos			P. V, vi, 18 E. 75	E. G-2	
Orsa		Horsana Osdara ?	P. V, vi, 20		*See* Ch. IV nn. 25,28b.
Ortu					*See* Ortuzu.
Ortuzu	Ortu	Ordu ?	G. 500 (1) $39^0 55' \times 41^0 33'$		*See* Ch. I n. 39.
Ošakan		Ašnak			T. 197. *See* Ch. XI nn. 9, 9a, 10, 16.
Osdara		Orsa ?	I.A. E. 74	M. 736 and f. 237 E. G-2 CM Le	*See* Ch. IV nn. 25,28d.
Oşnak		Orǰnhał	G. 501 $40^0 40' \times 41^0 24'$	U. 324 C III	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Otha		Okhda ?	G. 501 40°35' × 41°39'	U. 324 C III	*See* Ch. I n. 42.
Pałin		Bağin Palios kastron	G.C. E. 76	 E. G-3	*See* Ch. III nn. 2-3.
Palios kastron					*See* Pałin.
Palu		Balu Baïoulouos	G. 505 38°42' × 39°57'	U. 340 A IV	
Partaw		Berdaa	E. 77	E. B-7	T. 476 n. 169, 484.
P'aytakaran		Phatakaranēs			*See* Ch. IX n. 13b.
Pekeriç		Bagayaṙič	G. 509 39°43' × 40°13'	U. 340 A I	
Peri			G. 510 38°51' × 39°42'	U. 340 A IV	
Pertek		Pistek ? Pistik	W. 250		*See* Ch. II n. 19.
Petra					*See* Ch. I n. 46a; III n. 30.
Petrios					*See* Ch. VI n. 32c.
Pharnacia					*See* Pharnakia.
Pharnakia	Pharnacia				*See* Ch. IV n. 1.
Phathachōn		Thathaχ Fataχ			*See* Ch. I n. 21a.
Pheison	Phison	Fis			*See* Ch. I n. 20.
Phison					*See* Pheison.
Phitar	Phittur Phtr Pitar	Fittar			*See* Ch. II n. 6.
Phittur					*See* Phitar.
Phtr					*See* Phitar.
Phuphagena			P. V, vi, 18		
Phuphena			P. V, vi, 20		*See* Ch. IV n. 23.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Piriz		P'rris	G. 514 $39^{0}50' \times 40^{0}08'$	U. 340 A I	
Pirnabaşin					*See* Aziziye.
Pirnakaban					*See* Pirnakapan.
Pirnakapan	Pirnakaban Pirsnakapan	Brnakapan	G. 514 $39^{0}58' \times 40^{0}34'$	U. 340 A I	
Pirsnakapan					*See* Pirnakapan.
Pisingara			P. V, vi, 18.		
Pisonos		Hasanbatrik	I.A.	M. 684	
Pistek					*See* Pertek.
Pitar					*See* Phitar.
Pithia	Thia	Pitiunt ?	I.A., N.D.	M. 681	*See* Ch. V n. 19.
Pitiunt		Pithia ?	E. 77	E. A-4	
Pkoür					*See* Pürk.
Plasta		Elbistan	E. 78		
Polemonion			T.P.	M. 647 and 643 f. 211 CM Lb	*See* Ch. IV n. 42a; VII n. 18.
Porpēs	Borbas	Xaraba-Barbas Jiwnakert Harabe köy ?			*See* Ch. I n. 33.
ad Praetorium	Praetorio	Hasançelebi	I.A., T.P. E. 31	E. G-2 M. 684	*See* Ch. V n. 10.
P'rris		Piriz			*See* Ch. III n. 8.
Ptandari		Tanadaris Tanir ?	P. V, vi, 22 I.A. E. 78	CM Ke M. 736 E. G-2	
Pum					*See* Fum.
Pürk	Pürko	Nikopolis	G. 518 $40^{0}08' \times 38^{0}09'$	U. 324 D III	
Pydna					*See* Fidi.
Qaghyzman					*See* Kağizman.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Qitriz					*See* Kit'arič.
Refahiye					*See* Gercanis.
Rhandea					*See* Rhandeia.
Rhandeia	Rhandea	Eṙand			*See* Ch. II n. 18b.
Rhizaion	Rizon Rhizus	Rize	E. 79	E. B-4 AA 106 CM Ob	*See* Ch. III nn. 28a, 30.
Rhizus					*See* Rhizaion.
Rize		Rhizaion	G. 522 41°02' × 40°31'	U. 324 C I	
Rint					*See* Ełind.
Rizon					*See* Rhizaion.
Rumluk					*See* Leri.
Saba					*See* Sabus.
Sabus	Saba Sabbu	Şepik	I.A., T.P. N.D. E. 79	M. 682 and 680 f. 223 CM Md E. G-3	
Sadak		Satala Satał	G. 524 40°03' × 39°36'	U. 324 C IV	
Šahapiwan				AA 104	
Şahverdiyan			G. 527 38°34' × 40°35'		
Sałamas				AA 106	
Salk'ora			E. 79	E. B-5 AA 106	
Salona					*See* Siluana.
Salonenica					*See* Siluana.
Samosata		Sumaysat	T.P., I.A.	M. 684 and f. 224 HW 21a F-2	*See* Ch. II n. 17.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Šamšat					See Arsamosata.
Samsun					See Djanik.
Šamšey					See Arsamosata.
Šamušat					See Arsamosata.
Šamuši					See Arsamosata.
Šamušia					See Arsamosata.
Şar		Komana Aurea	G. 534 (2) 38°20’ × 36°19’	U. 340 B IV	
Saracik		Hispa	G. 534 (2) 38°52’ × 38°40’	U. 341 B III	
Şarkişla		Arasaka ? Tonus	G. 540 39°21’ × 36°26’	U. 341 B I	
Sarsapa	Sarsapi				See Uarsapa.
Sarsapiōn kastron					See Uarsapa.
Satał		Satala Sadak	E. 80	E. B-3	
Satala	S Ataleni	Satał Sadak	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C.	CM Nc M. 676 and 646 f. 212	*See* Ch. III nn. 25, IV n. 42a.
S Ataleni					See Satala.
Šawaršam					See Maku.
Schamalinichōn		Zimla			*See* Ch. III nn. 26a, 27.
Sebaste					See Sebasteia.
Sebasteia	Sebaste Sevastia Sivastia	Sivas	I.A., T.P. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 80	M. 730 and f. 234 CM Ld E. G-2	*See* Ch. III n. 25; IV nn. 5, 42a.
Sebastopolis		Sulusaray	P. V, vi, 4 N.D., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 80 (2)	CM Kd M. 674-675, f. 222 E. G-2	*See* Ch. IV nn. 5, 42a; V n. 19.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Şebinkarahisar		Koloneia	G. 544 40°20' × 38°25'	U. 324 D III	
Seleobereia			P. V, vi, 18		
Şepik	Şipik	Sabus	G. 550 39°06' × 38°32'		
Seresekia					*See* Şarkişla.
Sevastia					*See* Sebasteia.
Sewanaberd		Seyvan kale		AA 106	
Seyvan kale		Sewanaberd	G. 557 (1) 38°33' × 43°40'	U. 340 B IV	*See* Ch. XI n. 60.
Sheikh Selim Kala					*See* Kitharizōn.
Şikefti					*See* Der.
Siluana		Salona Salonenica Süle ?	T.P., N.D.	M. 682 and 646 f. 212	*See* Ch. V n. 16.
Silvan					*See* Miyafarkin.
Šimšat					*See* Arsamosata.
Sinara					*See* Sinera.
Sinekli					*See* Sinikli.
Sinera	Sinerva Sinara		P. V, vi, 18 T.P.	CM Md M. 680 f. 223	
Sinerva					*See* Sinera.
Sinikli	Sinekli	Siniscolon ?	G. 562 38°46' × 38°35'	U. 341 B III	
Siniscolon		Sinikli ?	P. V, vi, 21		
Sinna					*See* Zintha.
Sinope			T.P.	M. 644 and 642 f. 210 HW 21 a F-1 AA 104 CM Ja	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Şipik					*See* Şepik.
Širakawan		Baš Soragyal Başsüregel	E. 74	E. B-5 AA 106	*See* Ch. XI n. 3.
Širi	Širin Širni	Şirinan ?			*See* Ch. III nn. 6, 9.
Şirinan	Şirnan	Širi ?	G. 564 $39^{0}08' \times 40^{0}35'$	U. 340 A I	
Şirnan					*See* Şirinan.
Širni					*See* Širi.
Sisilia			N.D.		
Sisilissōn		Ziziola ?			*See* Ch. III nn. 27, 31c-d.
Sismara			P. V, vi, 18		
Sivas		Sebasteia	G. 565 $39^{0}45' \times 37^{0}02'$	U. 341 B-1	
Sivastia					*See* Sebasteia.
Spunios					*See* Ch. IV n. 23.
Suissa			I.A.	M. 675-676 CM Nd	
Süle		Siluana ?	G. 574 (2) $40^{0}25' \times 39^{0}44'$	U. 324 C IV	
Suluk			G. 576 (2) $38^{0}51' \times 41^{0}32'$	U. 340 A III	*See* Ch. XI n. 37.
Sumaysat					*See* Samosata.
Sulusaray		Sebastopolis	G. 576 (2) $38^{0}42' \times 34^{0}44'$		
Surb Karapet					*See* Bagawan.
Sürmene	Susurmenē	Usiportus Humurgân Arakli ?	G. 578 (1) $40^{0}55' \times 40^{0}07'$	U. 324 C IV	
Susarmia					*See* Susurmenē.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Suşehri					*See* Endires.
Susurmenē	Susarmia	Sürmene			*See* Ch. III n. 28a.
Tablariensis			N.D.		
Tabriz	Tawriz			AA 106	
Tahtakiran			G. 581 40⁰53' × 42⁰36'	U. 324 C III	*See* Ch. XI n. 3b.
Takht i Suleiman					*See* Ganjak.
Takhtuk					*See* Tutmaç.
Tanadaris					*See* Ptandari.
Tanir		Tanadaris ? Ptandari ?	G. 583 (2) 37⁰52' × 36⁰41'	U. 341 C I	
Tapura					*See* Tephrikē.
Taranta		Derende	E. 85	E. G-2 CM Le	
Tateonk'		Diyadin	E. 85	E. G-5	*See* Ch. XI n. 22.
Tawriz					*See* Tabriz.
Tephrikē	Abrik Tevrik Tapura Teucila ?	Divrigi	P. V, vi, 20 E. 86	E. G-3	
Teucila	Teucira *Teurica	Divrigi ?	I.A.	M. 682 CM Md	
Teucira					*See* Teucila.
*Teurica					*See* Teucila.
Tevrik					*See* Tephrikē.
Thathaχ					*See* Phathachōn.
Theodosiopolis		Karin Erzurum		HW 43 O-5 CM Pd	*See* C. III n. 26; VI n. 28f.
Thia					*See* Pithia.
Thilenzit					*See* Tilenzit.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Tigranakert	Tigranokerta Tigranocarten	Martyropolis Np'rkert Miyafarkin	T.P.	M. 746 and 738 f. 239 HW 20a E-2 CM Oe ? Of ?	*See* Ch. I n. 10.
Tigranocarten					*See* Tigranakert.
Tigranokerta					*See* Tigranakert.
Til		Tilenzit	G. 598 (4) 38^{0}49' × 39^{0}18' E. 36	U. 340 A IV	*See* Ch. III nn. 1, 5
Tilenzit	Thilenzit	Til Anzita			*See* Ch. II n. 11a.
Timur agha					*See* Ch. I n. 22b.
Tizbon	Tispon	Ctesiphon	E. 23	AA 104.	
Tokat	Tokatli		G. 601 40^{0}19' × 36^{0}34'	U. 324 D IV	
Tokatli					*See* Tokat.
Tonosa		Tonus	I.A.	M. 730 CM Kd	
Tonus		Tonosa Şarkişla	G. 602 (5) 39^{0}21' × 36^{0}26'	U. 341 B I	
T'ordan		Tortan	E. 53	E. G-3 AA 106	*See* Ch. III n. 1; XII n. 48.
Tortan		T'ordan	G. 604 (1) 39^{0}40' × 39^{0}09'	U. 340 A I	
Tortum		Ninah	G. 604 40^{0}19' × 41^{0}35'	U. 324 C III AA 108	
Trabzon	Trebizond	Trapezos	G. 605 41^{0}00' × 39^{0}43'	U. 324 C I	
Trapezos	Trapezunta	Trabzon	T.P., I.A. N.D.	M. 647-648, and 645 f. 212 CM Nb	*See* Ch. III nn. 28, 30.
Trapezunta					*See* Trapezos.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Trebizond		Trapezos	E. 86	E. B-7	
		Trabzon		AA 106	
Tutmaç	Tutmadj	Takhtuk	G. 609		*See* Ch. IV n. 22.
		Blandos	$39^{0}32' \times 37^{0}11'$		
Tutmadj					*See* Tutmaç.
T'uχars					*See* Hars.
Tuy					*See* Du.
Tuzluca					*See* Kulp.
Tzanzakōn		Zavzoka			*See* Ch. III nn. 27, 32.
Tzumina		Cimin	E. 57	E. G-3	*See* Ch. III n. 26; VI n. 30.
				AA 106	
Ualentia			N.D.		
Uarsapa	Varsapa	Arabissos ?	P. V, vi, 18		*See* Ch. IV n. 28b.
	Varpasa	Sarsapa ?			
Ułēoy berd					*See* Oleoberda.
Urumya khan	Erumya				*See* Ch. IV n. 18a.
Vałaršakert		Hasankale	E. 81	E. G-5	*See* Ch. I n. 41.
				AA 106	
Vałaršapat		Kainepolis	E. 82	E. B-6	*See* Ch. V nn. 10a,19.
Vardanakert			E. 83	E. G-7	
Vardašēn	Vardišēn			AA 106	
Vardenik		Vartinik		AA 106	
Vardišēn					*See* Vardašēn.
Varissa					*See* Verise.
Varpasa					*See* Uarsapa.
Varsapa					*See* Uarsapa.
Vartinik		Vardenik	G. 621	U. 324 C IV	
			$40^{0}15' \times 40^{0}40'$		
Vereuso			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Verise	Varissa	Berissa	I.A.	M. 674 and 675 f. 222 CM Kc	
Vican	Vidjan Vizana Vižan	Bizana	W. 249	U. 340 A I	
Vidjan					*See* Vican.
Vizana.					*See* Vican.
Vižan		Bizana	E. 83	E. G-4 AA 106	
Vizana					*See* Vican.
*X*ač̣		Haçköy Bazmałbiwr			*See* Ch. III nn. 6, 10.
*X*aldoy ařič	Gałtařič *X*alto ařič Kiaghid aridj	Kağdariç		AA 105	*See* Ch. III n. 11.
*X*alχal					*See* *X*ilχil.
*X*araba-Barbas	Charaba Borbas	Porpēs	E. 63		*See* Ch. I n. 33.
*X*arberd	Hare bert Hore berd Hart Bert	Harput Ḥīsn Ziyad ?		AA 106	
*X*aχ		Hahi ?			*See* Ch. III n. 1.
*X*er					*See* Hēr.
*X*ilχil	*X*alχal				*See* Ch. IX n. 21.
*X*nunikʻ					*See* *X*nus.
*X*nus	*X*nunikʻ Hinis			AA 108	
*X*oy		*X*er Hēr		AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
*X*ozan		Hozat ?	E. 55	E. E-4	
				AA 106	
*X*ram					Unidentifiable.
Yarimca		Arsamosata	G. 630 (6)	U. 340 A IV	
			$38^{0}39' \times 39^{0}46'$		
Yarpuz	Yarpus	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	*See* Afşin.
Yaštišat	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	*See* Aštišat.
Ysiportus	Yssu limēn	Sürmene	N.D. P.V, vi, 5		*See* Ch. V n. 18.
Zağki		Całik	G. 657	U. 324 C III	*See* Ch. I nn. 38c 39.
			$40^{0}12' \times 41^{0}29'$		
Zalichos		Leontopolis		CM Jb	*See* Ch. VII n. 18.
Zara			I.A.	CM Ld	
			G. 658 (4)	U. 341 B II	
			$39^{0}55' \times 37^{0}46'$		
Zarehawan of Całkotn			E. 52 (3)	E. G-5	T. 309, 310 n. 32.
				AA 106	*See* Ch. XI n. 23.
Zela			T.P.	M. 679 and 675 f. 222	
			N. XXXI	HW 41 N-4	
				CM Jc	
Zenjān		J̌enzan ?		AA 105	
Zenocopi			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	
Zerran	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	*See* Gever.
Ziata		Anzita		CM Ne	
		Ḥiṣn Ziyād		AA 106	
Zigana			N.D.	AA 106	*See* Ch. III n. 33.
			G. 661	U. 324 C IV	
			$40^{0}37' \times 39^{0}20'$	CM Nc	
Zimara			P. V, vi, 18	CM Md	
			T.P., I.A.	M. 679 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
			G. 662	U. 341 B II	
			$39^{0}29' \times 38^{0}21'$		
			E. 52	E. G-3	
Zimla	Zimlakova	Schamalinichōn	G. 662	U. 324 C IV	
			$40^{0}46' \times 39^{0}59'$		
Zintha		Sinna ?	E. 52	E. D-6	*See* Ch. IX nn. 29, 29a.
		Zindu ?			
Ziziola		Sisilissōn ?	T.P., I.A.	M. 676 and 645 f. 212	
			N.D.		
Zoana			I.A.	M. 675	
Zok		Garzan	G. 664 (1)	U. 340 A III	
			$38^{0}02' \times 41^{0}33'$		
Zoropassos		Koropassos		CM Ie	*See* Ch. IV n. 10a.

C. MOUNTAINS - PLAINS

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

M. mountain.
P. plain.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abēş Mts.		Şerefiye	G. 2 $40^0$08' × $37^0$47'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given for town no mountains indicated by this name in Gazetteer.
Abus M.		Ararat ?		CM Pd	*See* Ch. III n. 19a.
Ağri daği					*See* Ararat.
Ala daği		Całkē	G. 26 (2) $39^0$20' × $43^0$35'	U. 340 B I	
Alagöz					*See* Aragac.
Aleluya P.		"Fair Plain" *X*arberd P. Olu ovasi Harput P. Kalopedion			*See* Ch. II nn. 12, 16.
Anti Taurus M.			E. 36	E. G-2 CM O-Pe	
Aragac M.		Alagöz	E. 38	E. B-6 AA 7	
Ararat M.		Masis Ağri daği Abus ? Nibarus ?	G. 40 $39^0$40' × $44^0$24' E. 31	U. 340 B II AA 7 E. G-6	*See* also P'ok'r Masis.
Araxenōn pedion		Ersχajor			*See* Ch. XI n. 2, also Provinces: Aršarunik'.
Argaeus M.		Erciyas daği		CM Ie	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Arnas daği	Arnos		G. 44 37°59’ × 42°58’ E. 37	U. 340 C I E. D-5	
Arnos					*See* Arnas daği.
Ayc Ptkunk’ M.		Gohanam Palandöken M. Šołalar	E. 35	E. G-4	*See* Ch. I n. 34; VI n. 44.
Azat Masis M.					*See* Ararat.
Bağirbaba daği	Bağirpasa daği	Paχr M.	G. 68 39°30’ × 40°06’	U. 340 A I	
Bağirpasa daği					*See* Bağirbaba daği.
Bakireyn Tunnel					*See* Ch. I n. 23.
Barχal					*See* Parhar.
Belhan M.					*See* Ch. II n. 12a.
Bingöl dağlari		Srmanç M.	G. 97 39°20’ × 41°20’	U. 340 A II	
Bolhar					*See* Parhar.
Brnakapan pass		Pirnakapan	E. 46	E. B-4	*See also* Cities: Prnakapan.
Całkawet M.		Dümlü daği	E. 36	E. B-4	
Całkē					*See* Ala daği.
Çamlibel dağlari			G. 125 39°57’ × 36°31’	U. 341 B I	
Capotes M.				CM Pc	*See* Ch. III n. 12b.
Cevtla M.					*See* Çotela Akçakara M.
Chaldean P.					*See* Xaldoy jor.
Çimen daği			G. 152 39°56’ × 39°15’	U. 340 A I	
Cip‘an					*See* Sip‘an.
Ciraneaç M.		Kandil M.	E. 56	E. B-4	
Clisurae					*See* Kleisurai.
Çotela Akçakara daği		Cevtla	G. 161 (15) 38°40’ × 40°52’	U. 340 A III	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Darkosh M.		Kurtik M. ?			*See* Ch. I n. 22a.
Dava boyun M.					*See* Deveboynu dağlari.
Deveboynu dağlari		Dava boyun M.			*See* Ch. I n. 38b.
Dumanli daği			G. 197 (6)		
			$39^0 42' \times 40^0 45'$		
Dümlü daği		Całkawet M.	G. 197	U. 324 C III	
			$40^0 12' \times 41^0 15'$		
Erasχajor					*See* Araxenōn pedion.
Erciyas daği		Argaeus	G. 211		
			$38^0 32' \times 35^0 28'$		
"Fair Plain"		Kalopedion			*See* Aleluya P.
Gargar P.			E. 46	E. G-8	*See* Ch. XIV nn. 75-76.
Garnijor M.		Giresur M.	E. 46	E. G-6	*See* Ch. XI n. 57.
Gaylaχazut M.					*See* Paχr M.
Giresur M.					*See* Garnijor M.
Gohanam M.	Kohanam M.	Kara daği			*See* Ch. III n. 4; VI nn. 43-44.
	Goan	Sepuh M.			
		Sołalar			
		Maneay ayrk' ?			
		Ayc Ptkunk'			
Gure M.					*See* Ch. XI p. 248.
Haç daği	*Xač* M.		G. 261 (2)		
			$39^0 32' \times 40^0 28'$		
Haçreş dağlari		Khandosh M.	G. 267		
			$38^0 38' \times 40^0 28'$		
Halhal					*See* Harhal M.
Halōras					*See* Olōray.
Halûris					*See* Olōray.
Harhal daği		*Xal*χal M.	G. 276		
		Meleduχ M.	$39^0 27' \times 40^0 56'$		

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Harput P.					*See* Aleluya P.
Hart ovasi					*See* Cities: Hart.
Hawasor					*See* Hayoç jor.
Hayoç jor	Hawasor		E. 62	E. G-5	
Illyrisum pass			Aed. III, iii, 4		
Izala M.					*See* Masios M.
Jorayn koys					*See* Kleisurai.
Kalopedion					*See* Aleluya P.
Kandil daği		Ciraneaç M.	G. 330 (3) $40^{0}11' \times 41^{0}35'$		
Kara daği		Gohanam M. Sepuh M. Maneay ayrk' ?	G. 342 (28) $39^{0}45' \times 39^{0}13'$	U. 340 A I	
Kara Tonus M.				U. 341 B I	
Karasakal daği		Kazikli M. ?	G. 355 $39^{0}20' \times 39^{0}38'$		
Karayazi ovasi	Karayazi kazasi	Towarcatap'	G. 359 $39^{0}35' \times 42^{0}05'$		*See* Ch. XI n. 53.
Karer M.					*See* Kârir daği.
Karga bazar M.					*See* Kargapazari daği.
Kargapazari daği		Karga bazar M.	G. 360 $40^{0}07' \times 41^{0}35'$	U. 324 C III	
Kârir daği		Koher M. Karer M.	G. 361 $39^{0}05' \times 40^{0}40'$	U. 340 A I	
Kazikli M.					*See* Küçükgöl daği and Karasakal daği.
Keraunian Caucasus					*See* Šant'ayin M.
Keşiş dağlari			G. 383 $39^{0}50' \times 39^{0}45'$	U. 340 A I	
Khalkhal M.					*See* Harhal daği.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Khandosh M.					.*See* Haçreş dağlari.
Kirklar tepesi		Mazgirt M.	G. 395 39°03' × 39°37'		
Kleissrai	Kłesurk' Clisurae	Jorayn kays Ṙahva pass	E. 59	E. G-4	*See* Ch. I nn. 20-23; IX n. 24. *See also* Kop daği.
Kłesurk'					.*See* Kleisurai.
Kohanam					.*See* Gohanam M.
Koher M.					.*See* Kârir daği.
Kohi Nihorakan			E. 59	E. D-6	*See* Ch. IX n. 34a.
Kolat dağlari			G. 413 40°36' × 39°35'	U. 324 C IV	
Kop daği			G. 416 40°01' × 40°28'		*See also* Kleisurai.
Köse daği			G. 421 (1) 40°06' × 37°58'	U. 324 D III	
Küçükgöl daği		Kazikli M.?	G. 430 39°19' × 39°44'		
Kurtik M.					.*See* Darkosh M.
Lesser Ararat					.*See* P'ok'r Masis.
Maneay ayrk'					.*See* Sepuh M.
Masios	Masius	Izala M.	E. 65	E. D-4	
Masis	Azat Masis				.*See* Ararat.
Masius					.*See* Masios.
Mazgirt M.					.*See* Kirklar M. Not to be confused with Manazkert.
Meleduχ M.		Harhal daği	E. 70	E. G-4	*See* Ch. I n. 34.
Misfīnā M.					*See* Ch. II n. 19c.
Movkan dašt					.*See* Mułani dašt.
Mughan P.					.*See* Mułani dašt.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mułani dašt	Movkan dašt	Mughan P.	E. 71	E. G-8	
Munzur sisilesi		Muzur M.	G. 479 $39^{0}30' \times 39^{0}10'$ E. 71	U. 340 A I E. G-3	
Muşar daği			G. 481 $38^{0}37' \times 38^{0}25'$		
Muzur					*See* Munzur M.
Navšan pass	Navarshan dere				*See* Ch. I n. 33a.
Nemrut daği			G. 487 $38^{0}40' \times 42^{0}12'$	U. 340 A III	
Neχ Masik' M.		Sip'an M. Süphan daği	E. 72	E. G-5	*See* Ch. XI n. 50.
Nibarus M.					*See* Ararat.
Nimrud M.					*See* Nemrut daği.
Niphates M.		Npatakan M.	P. V, xii, 1		
Npatakan M.	Npat	Niphates M.	E. 72-73	E. G-5	
Olor					*See* Olōray.
Olōray	Olor	Halōras Halûras Holûris			*See* Ch. I n. 22.
Olu ovasi					*See* Aleluya P.
Palandöken daği		Ayc Ptkunk' M.	G. 504 $39^{0}47' \times 41^{0}15'$		*See* Ch. In. 34.
Parhal					*See* Parhar M.
Parhar M.	Parhal Parχar Barχal	Paryadres M.	E. 77	E. B-4	*See* Ch. I nn. 43a, 45.
Parχar					*See* Parhar.
Paryadres M.		Parhar M.		CM L-Nc	T. 445, 450-452.
Paχir M.		Bağirbaba daği Gaylaχazut M.	E. 76	E. G-4	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
P'ok'r Masis M.		Lesser Ararat M.	E. 89	E. G-6	
Ŕahva pass . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Kleisurai.
Salbüs daği		Sipilus M. Surb Luys M.	G. 529 39°17' × 40°00'		
Salin M.		Salnoy M.	E. 79	E. G-4	
Salnoy M. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Salin M.
Šant'ayin M.		Keraunian Caucasus M.	E. 73		
Saphchae pass			Aed. III, iii, 4		
Sariçiçek yaylasi				U. 341 B II	The coordinates given in G. 537 do no fit the indicated location between Arapkir and Divrigi.
Šarur P.			E. 73, 118	E. G-6	
Sasun M.			E. 79	E. G-4	
Sebouh . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Sepuh.
Sepuh M.	Sebouh	Kara daği Gohanam M. Maneay ayrk' ?	E. 80	E. G-3	
Şerefiye . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Abeş.
Sinibel M.					See Ch. IV n. 16f.
Sip'an M.	Cip'an . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Neχ Masik'.
Sipikör daği		Surb Grigor M.	G. 563 39°52' × 39°35'	U. 340 A I	
Sipilus		Salbüs daği ? Surb Luys M.		CM	
Šołalar M.. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Ayc Ptkunk'.
Srmanç M.		Bingöl dağlari	E. 80	E. G-4	See Ch. I n. 34.
Sübhan . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Süphan daği.
Süphan daği	Sübhan daği	Sip'an M. Neχ Masik' M.	G. 577 38°54' × 42°48'	U. 340 B IV	
Surb Grigor M. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. See Sipikör daği.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Surb Luys M.					*See* Salbüs daği.
Surb Nšan M.					*See* Top daği.
Taurus M.		Toros dağlari		CM Jf-Kc	
Tecer daği			G. 589 39°27' × 37°11'	U. 341 B I	
Tendürek daği		T'ondrak M.	G. 593 39°22' × 43°55'	U. 340 B I	
T'ondrak M.		Tendürek daği	E. 53	E. G-5	
Top daği		Surb Nšan M.			*See* Ch. VI n. 42.
Toros dağlari		Taurus	G. 588 37°00' × 33°00'		
*X*ač̣ M.					*See* Haç daği.
*X*aldoy jor		Chaldean P.	E. 55	E. B-4	
*X*alχal					*See* Harhal daği.
*X*ar dašt					*See* Xērakan dašt.
*X*arberd P					*See* Aleluya P.
Xerakan dašt		Xar dašt	E. 63	E. G-6	
Zagros M.				AA 104	
Zigana sirdağlari			G. 661 40°37' × 39°30' E. 52	HW-11c E. B-3	

D. Rivers - Lakes - Seas

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

L. lake.
R. river.
S. sea.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abrik R.					*See* Ch. IV n. 19.
Acampsis					*See* Akampsis.
Adzharis Tskali R.		Çχenis Cłali R. Adzho R. Bzang R.		U. 324 C II AA 6	
Adzho R.					*See* Adzharis Tskali R.
Akampsis	Acampsis Akamsis	Boas R. Çoruh nehri Voh R.	E. 32	E. B-4 AA 104 CM Oc	
Akamsis					*See* Akampsis.
Ak çayi					*See* Tłmut R.
Ak çayi II					*See* Čowarš rod.
Akhurean R.					*See* Aχuryan R.
Aksar deresi		Pulat dere	G. 22 40°05' × 38°12'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given are for locality. *See also* Pülk çayi.
Alis R.					*See* Halys R.
Angu R.		Arapkir çayi Gortuk			*See* Ch. IV nn. 19a-20.
Aracani R.	Arsanias R.	Euphrates R. Murat nehri	E. 38	E. G-5 AA 6	
Araks R.					*See* Araxes R.
Arapkir çayi					*See* Angu.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aras nehri		Araxes R.	G. 41 39°56’ × 48°20’	U. 324 D IV	
Araxes R.	Araks R.	Aras nehri Eğri R. Erasχ R. Murç R.	E. 38-39, 50	E. G4-G7 AA 6, 105 CM Pc	
Arčišak L.	Arčak	Erçek gölü	E. 39-40	E. G-5 AA 105	*See* Ch. XI n. 56.
Arčišak R.					*See* Mehmedik R.
Ardanuç R.			G. 41 41°05’ × 42°05’	U. 324 C II	The coordinates given are for the locality and district.
Arethusa	Aretissa				*See* p. 460 n. 56.
Arghana su					*See* Maden suyu.
Arpa çayi		Aχuryan R. Rah R.	G. 44 40°06’ × 43°44’	U. 325 D IV	
Arsanas					*See* Arsanias.
Arsanias R.	Arsanas Aracani	Euphrates R. Murat nehri		AA 107 HW 10a D-2	
Askar deresi					*See* Aksar deres .
Aχuryan R.	Akhurean R.	Arpa çayi Rah R. Kars R.	E. 32	E. B-5 AA 107	
Azat R.		Garni çay	E. 31	E. B-6 AA 7	
Bała rud					*See* Bałan řot.
Bałan řot	Bała rud Bałas řot		E. 44	E. G-8	*See* Bolgara çay.
Bałas řot					*See* Bałan řot.
Batmansuyu		Nymphios R. Kałirtʻ	G. 81 37°45’ × 41°00’	U. 340 D II	

D. Rivers - Lakes - Seas

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

L.	lake.
R.	river.
S.	sea.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abrik R.					*See* Ch. IV n. 19.
Acampsis					*See* Akampsis.
Adzharis Tskali R.		Çχenis Cłali R. Adzho R. Bzang R.		U. 324 C II AA 6	
Adzho R.					*See* Adzharis Tskali R.
Akampsis	Acampsis Akamsis	Boas R. Çoruh nehri Voh R.	E. 32	E. B-4 AA 104 CM Oc	
Akamsis					*See* Akampsis.
Ak çayi					*See* Tłmut R.
Ak çayi II					*See* Čowarš rod.
Akhurean R.					*See* Aχuryan R.
Aksar deresi		Pulat dere	G. 22 40°05' × 38°12'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given are for locality. *See also* Pülk çayi.
Alis R.					*See* Halys R.
Angu R.		Arapkir çayi Gortuk			*See* Ch. IV nn. 19a-20.
Aracani R.	Arsanias R.	Euphrates R. Murat nehri	E. 38	E. G-5 AA 6	
Araks R.					*See* Araxes R.
Arapkir çayi					*See* Angu.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aras nehri		Araxes R.	G. 41 39°56' × 48°20'	U. 324 D IV	
Araxes R.	Araks R.	Aras nehri Eğri R. Erasχ R. Murç R.	E. 38-39, 50	E. G4-G7 AA 6, 105 CM Pc	
Arčišak L.	Arčak	Erçek gölü	E. 39-40	E. G-5 AA 105	*See* Ch. XI n. 56.
Arčišak R.					*See* Mehmedik R.
Ardanuç R.			G. 41 41°05' × 42°05'	U. 324 C II	The coordinates given are for the locality and district.
Arethusa	Aretissa				*See* p. 460 n. 56.
Arghana su					*See* Maden suyu.
Arpa çayi		Aχuryan R. Rah R.	G. 44 40°06' × 43°44'	U. 325 D IV	
Arsanas					*See* Arsanias.
Arsanias R.	Arsanas Aracani	Euphrates R. Murat nehri		AA 107 HW 10a D-2	
Askar deresi					*See* Aksar deres .
Aχuryan R.	Akhurean R.	Arpa çayi Rah R. Kars R.	E. 32	E. B-5 AA 107	
Azat R.		Garni çay	E. 31	E. B-6 AA 7	
Bała rud					*See* Bałan ṙot.
Bałan ṙot	Bała rud Bałas ṙot		E. 44	E. G-8	*See* Bolgara çay.
Bałas ṙot					*See* Bałan ṙot.
Batmansuyu		Nymphios R. Kałirtʿ	G. 81 37°45' × 41°00'	U. 340 D II	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Bendimahi çayi			G. 89	U. 340 B IV	
			38°55' × 43°35'	AA 7	
Berklinzülkarneynsuyu			G. 90	U. 340 A IV	
			38°31' × 40°29'		
Bingöl su		Harsanova suyu ?			*See* Ch. 1 n. 32a.
Boas . . .					*See* Akampsis.
Bohtan su. . .					*See* Botan çayi.
Bolgara çay̧		Bałan r̂ot	E. 44	E. G-8	*See* Ch. IX n. 13.
Botan çayi	Bohtan su	Kentrites R.	G. 103	U. 340 D II	
		J̌erm R.	37°44' × 41°48'		
Bolχa R.		Oltu çayi	E. 45	E. B-4	
Bulam L. . .					*See* Haçli Gölü.
Bzang R. . .					*See* Adzharis Tskali R.
Bznunik' S. . .					*See* Van L.
Čalgar R.					*See* Ch. II n. 19d.
Çaltisuyu		Kangal su	G. 123	U. 341 B II	*See* Ch. IV p. 68.
			39°23' × 38°24'		
Caspian S.		Kaspiç S.	E. 58	E. A. 8 - G-8	
		Hyrkanian S.			
Çekerek irmaği		Scylax R.	G. 138	U. 324 D IV	
			40°34' × 35°46'		
Centritis . . .					*See* Kentrites R.
Çeyhan nehri	Jaihun çayi	Pyramus R.	G. 145	U. 341 C IV	
			36°45' × 35°45'		
Çoruh nehri		Akampsis R.	G. 160	U. 324 C III	
		Boas R.	41°36' × 41°35'	AA 6	
		Voh R.			
Covk' L.		Gölcuk gölü	E. 57	E. G-3	
				AA 105	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Čowarš rod		Ak çayi II	E. 64	E. G-6 AA 105	*See* Ch. XI n. 61. *See also* Karmir R.
Çχenis cłali					*See* Adzharis Tskali.
Cyrus R.		Kura		HW 29a P-4	
Değirmen deresi		Pyxites R.	G. 173 (6) $41^{0}00' \times 39^{0}46'$	U. 324 C IV	
Dicle nehri					*See* Tigris R.
Dklat R.					*See* Tigris R.
Eğri R.					*See* Araxes R.
Elmali deresi			G. 207 $39^{0}25' \times 40^{0}35'$		*See* Ch. XI n. 53.
Ep'rat R.					*See* Euphrates R.
Erasχ R.					*See* Araxes R.
Erçek gölü		Arčišak L.	G. 211 $38^{0}39' \times 43^{0}22'$	U. 340 B IV	
Euphrates R.	Ep'rat R.	Arsanias R. Kara su çayi Murat nehri Firat nehri	E. 51	E. B-4 AA 6	
Firat nehri		Euphrates R.	G. 226 $31^{0}00' \times 47^{0}25'$	U. 341 B III	
Gargar R.		Karkar R.	E. 46	E. G-7 AA 107	
Gaṙni çay		Azat R.		AA 105	
Gayl R.		Lykos R. Kelkit çayi	E. 46 (2)	E. B-2 AA 106	*See* Ch. III nn. 5, 24a.
Gełakuneaç S.					*See* Sevan L.
Gercanis R.			G. 234 $39^{0}54' \times 38^{0}44'$		The coordinates given are for the locality.
Gernaoksuyu		Gernevik	G. 236 $39^{0}37' \times 44^{0}07'$	U. 340 B I	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Gernevik					*See* Gernaoksuyu.
Geuljik L.					*See* Gölcuk L.
Ginek R.		Göniksuyu	E. 47	E. G-4 AA 6	
Göksu nehri		Sarus R.	G. 244 (5) $36^{0}20' \times 34^{0}05'$	U. 341 D III	
Gölcuk L.	Geuljik Göljik	Hazar gölü Covk' L.	G. 246 $38^{0}30' \times 39^{0}25'$	U. 340 A IV	
Göljik					*See* Gölcuk L.
Göneksuyu					*See* Göniksuyu.
Göniksuyu	Göneksuyu Gunig su	Ginek R.	G. 249 $39^{0}00' \times 40^{0}41'$	U. 340 A II	*See* Ch. I n. 27.
Gortuk					*See* Angu R.
Great Zab					*See* Zab R.
Gümüşane deresi		Harmut su	G. 255 $40^{0}30' \times 39^{0}23'$	U. 324 C IV	
Gunig su					*See* Göniksuyu.
Haçli gölü		Bulam L.	G. 267 $39^{0}00' \times 42^{0}18'$	U. 340 A II-III	
Halys R.	Alis R.	Kizil Irmak	E. 32, 63	E. B1-G2 CM Kd Hd Jd	*See* Ch. III n. 20.
Harabe deresi	Harbe	Menaskut R. ?	G. 275 $38^{0}56' \times 40^{0}56'$	U. 340 A III	
Harmut su					*See* Gümüşane deresi.
Harşit deresi	Haršut R. Kharsut		G. 277 $41^{0}01' \times 38^{0}52'$		
Hasanova suyu		Bingöl su ?	G. 280 $39^{0}11' \times 41^{0}06'$	U. 340 A II	
Hayoç jor su					*See* Xošab R.
Hazar gölü					*See* Gölcuk.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Hoşap		*Xošab* R.	G. 295 38°20' × 43°46'	U. 340 B IV	Coordinates given are for the locality.
Hrazdan R.	Hurazdan R.	Zanga R.	E. 63	E. B-6 AA 7	
Hurazdan R.					*See* Hrazdan R.
Hyrkanian S.					*See* Caspian S.
Imerhav çayi	Imerhevi	Meruli	G. 306 41°17' × 42°13' E. 73	U. 324 C II E. B-5	
Iris R.		Yeşil irmagi	E. 54	E. B-5 CM Kc	
Jaihun çayi					*See* Ceyhan nehri.
Jegam R.	Zegam				*See* Azerbaijan Atlas 21 and Ch. IX n. 21.
Ĵerm R.		Kentrites Botan çayi	E. 78	E. Ē-7	
Kala-θ R.					*See* K'ałirt' R.
K'ałirt' R.	Kala-θ	Nymphios R. Sit'it'ma R. Batmansuyu	E. 89	E. D4-G-4	*See* Ch. I nn. 13, 14, 19.
Kangal su					*See* Çaltisuyu.
Kapudan S.	Kapautan S.				*See* Urmiah L.
Kara su		Marmet R.	G. 356 (1) 38°32' × 43°10'	U. 340 B IV AA 6	
Kara su çayi		Euphrates R. Melas R. Firhat nehri	G. 356 (3) 39°42' × 39°32'	U. 340 A I AA 6	
Kara suyu		Meł R.	G. 356 (20) 38°49' × 41°28'	U. 340 A III	
Karabudak çayi			G. 337 39°28' × 38°32'	U. 341 B II	
Karadere su			G. 343 (12) 40°57' × 40°04'	U. 324 C IV	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Karkar R.					*See* Gargar R.
Karmałas R.		Zamantisuyu ?			*See* Ch. IV n. 7.
Karmir R.		Kötur R. Kotoroy R. Kizil çay	E. 58	G-6	*See also* Čowarš rod.
K'asał R.				AA 7	
Kełi					*See* Miws Gayl.
Kełkit çayi		Lykos R. Gayl R.	G. 378 40°46' × 36°32'	U. 324 D III AA 6	
Kentrites R.	Centritis	Botan çayi J̌erm R.		CM Pf	
Khabur R.		*X*abor R. K'abaṙos	E. 55 (1)	E. D-5	
Kizil çay					*See* Karmir R.
Kizil irmak	Qyzyl Yrmaq	Halys	G. 270 41°45' × 35°59'	U. 324 D I	
Kömür çayi			H. 414 (4) 39°40' × 39°03'	U. 340 A I	Coordinates given are for the locality.
Kor su					*See* Koroy jor.
Koroy jor		Kor su	E. 61	E. G-5	
Kotoroy R.	Kötur çayi		E. 60	E. G-6	
Kötur çayi	Kotoroy R.	Karmir R.		AA 7	
Kulp su	Kulp dere			U. 340 A III	
Kur					*See* Kura R.
Kura R.	Kur	Cyrus R. Mtkvari R.	G. 437 39°24' × 49°19' E. 61	 AA 6 E. B5-G8	
Kuru çayi			G. 442 (8) 38°35' × 38°22'	U. 341 B III	
Lice					*See* Saromsuyu.
Ličik					*See* Perisuyu.
Limb					*See* Lumb.
Lumb R.	Limb R.				*See* Ch. XI n. 60.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Lychnitis L.					*See* Sevan L.
Lycus R.					*See* Lykos R.
Lykos R.	Lycus R.	Gayl R. Kelkit çayi		CM Lc	
Maden suyu		Arghana su		U. 340 A IV	The coordinates in G. 452 do not suit the indicated locality.
Mahmedik çay					*See* Mehmedik.
Maku çay		Tełmut R. Zanginiardere		AA 7	
Maligir	Mirangir			U. 340 A III	
Mananałi R.		Tuzlasuyu	E. 65	E. G-4 AA 105	
Marat					*See* Mrit.
Marmet R.		Mermenid R. Mermid R. Kara su	E. 65	E. G-5 AA 105	
Mec Zaw R.					*See* Zab R.
Mehmedik deresi	Mahmedik çay Memedik deresi	Arčišak R.	E. 39	E. G-5 U. 340 B IV	
Meł R.		Teleboas R. Kara suyu	E. 70	E. G-4	
Memedik					*See* Mehmedik deresi.
Menaskut R.		Harbe deresi ?			*See* Ch. I n. 32b.
Mermenid					*See* Marmet R.
Mermid					*See* Marmet R.
Meruli					*See* Imerhav çayi.
Mirangir					*See* Maligir R.
Miws Gayl R.	Mews Gayl	Kełi R. Ličik R. Perisuyu	E. 70	E. G-4 AA 105	*See* Ch. I nn. 25-26.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mrit R.		Marat R.	E. 71	E. B-4	
Mruł R.			E. 71	E. B-4	
Mtkvari					*See* Kura R.
Munzur deresi	Muzur Mzur		G. 479 38°46' × 39°27'	U. 340 A IV	
Murat nehri		Euphrates- Arsanias R.	G. 480 38°52' × 38°48'	U. 341 B III	
Murç					*See* Murçamawr.
Murçamawr R.	Murç R.	Araxes R. Eğri	E. 71	E. G-4	
Murgulsuyu deresi			G. 480 41°20' × 41°40'	U. 324 C II	
Muzur R.		Munzur deresi Mzur R.	E. 71	E. G-3 AA 105	
Mzur					*See* Muzur R.
Nazik gölü			G. 486 38°50' × 42°16'	U. 340 A III AA 105	
Nikephorios					*See* Nymphios.
Nymphios R.	Nikephorios	K'ałirt' R. Šit'it'ma R. Batmansuyu		CM Pf	
Oltuçayi		Bolχa R.	G. 493 40°50' × 41°40'	U. 324 C III AA 6	
Pałin R.		Perisuyu Miws Gayl R. Kełi R.	E. 76	E. G-3	
Perisuyu		Pałin R. Miws Gayl R. Kełi R. Ličik R.	G. 510 38°50' × 39°35'	U. 340 A IV AA 6	*See* Ch. I n. 25.
Piramis					*See* Pyramus.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Pontos Euxeinos		Black S.	E. 78	E. B2-B4 CM Da-Oa	
Pulat dere		Aksar		U. 324 D III	
Pülk çayi			G. 517 $39^{0}51' \times 40^{0}07'$	U. 340 A I	
Pyramus R.	Piramis	Ceyhan nehri		CM Jg-Kf	
Rah R.		Aχuryan Arpa çayi Kars R.	E. 78	E. B-5	
Saris su					See Göksu nehri.
Saromsuyu		Lice R. ?	G. 541 $38^{0}21' \times 40^{0}54'$	U. 340 A III	
Sarsap deresi			G. 541 $38^{0}21' \times 37^{0}13'$	U. 341 B IV	
Sarus R.	Saris su	Göksu nehri		CM Jf-Jg	
Scylax R.		Çekerek irmaği	E. 81	E. B-2 CM Jc	
Serçeme deresi			G. 550 $39^{0}56' \times 40^{0}45'$	U. 324 C IV	
Sevan L.		Gełakuneaç S. Lychnitis L.	E. 47	E. B-6 AA 7	
Šit'it'ma R.	Šitʻma				*See* K'ałirt' R.
Spautan S.					*See* Urmiah L.
Talori deresi			G. 582 $38^{0}12' \times 41^{0}10'$	U. 340 A III	
Tatta L.		Tuz gölü		CM He	*See* Ch. IV n. 7.
Thospitis L					*See* Van L.
Tigris R.		Dicle nehri Dkłat R.	G. 597 $31^{0}00' \times 47^{0}25'$ E. 86	CM Pe Of AA 6 E. G-4	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mrit R.		Marat R.	E. 71	E. B-4	
Mruł R.			E. 71	E. B-4	
Mtkvari					*See* Kura R.
Munzur deresi	Muzur Mzur		G. 479 $38^{0}46' \times 39^{0}27'$	U. 340 A IV	
Murat nehri		Euphrates- Arsanias R.	G. 480 $38^{0}52' \times 38^{0}48'$	U. 341 B III	
Murç					*See* Murçamawr.
Murçamawr R.	Murç R.	Araxes R. Eğri	E. 71	E. G-4	
Murgulsuyu deresi			G. 480 $41^{0}20' \times 41^{0}40'$	U. 324 C II	
Muzur R.		Munzur deresi Mzur R.	E. 71	E. G-3 AA 105	
Mzur					*See* Muzur R.
Nazik gölü			G. 486 $38^{0}50' \times 42^{0}16'$	U. 340 A III AA 105	
Nikephorios					*See* Nymphios.
Nymphios R.	Nikephorios	K'ałirt' R. Šit'it'ma R. Batmansuyu		CM Pf	
Oltuçayi		Bolχa R.	G. 493 $40^{0}50' \times 41^{0}40'$	U. 324 C III AA 6	
Pałin R.		Perisuyu Miws Gayl R. Kełi R.	E. 76	E. G-3	
Perisuyu		Pałin R. Miws Gayl R. Kełi R. Ličik R.	G. 510 $38^{0}50' \times 39^{0}35'$	U. 340 A IV AA 6	*See* Ch. I n. 25.
Piramis					*See* Pyramus.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Pontos Euxeinos		Black S.	E. 78	E. B2-B4 CM Da-Oa	
Pulat dere		Aksar		U. 324 D III	
Pülk çayi			G. 517 $39^{0}51' \times 40^{0}07'$	U. 340 A I	
Pyramus R.	Piramis	Ceyhan nehri		CM Jg-Kf	
Rah R.		Aχuryan Arpa çayi Kars R.	E. 78	E. B-5	
Saris su					. See Göksu nehri.
Saromsuyu		Lice R. ?	G. 541 $38^{0}21' \times 40^{0}54'$	U. 340 A III	
Sarsap deresi			G. 541 $38^{0}21' \times 37^{0}13'$	U. 341 B IV	
Sarus R.	Saris su	Göksu nehri		CM Jf-Jg	
Scylax R.		Çekerek irmaği	E. 81	E. B-2 CM Jc	
Serçeme deresi			G. 550 $39^{0}56' \times 40^{0}45'$	U. 324 C IV	
Sevan L.		Gełakuneaç S. Lychnitis L.	E. 47	E. B-6 AA 7	
Šit'it'ma R.	Šitʿma				*See* K'ałirt' R.
Spautan S.					. *See* Urmiah L.
Talori deresi			G. 582 $38^{0}12' \times 41^{0}10'$	U. 340 A III	
Tatta L.		Tuz gölü		CM He	*See* Ch. IV n. 7.
Thospitis L					. *See* Van L.
Tigris R.		Dicle nehri Dklat R.	G. 597 $31^{0}00' \times 47^{0}25'$ E. 86	CM Pe Of AA 6 E. G-4	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Tłmut R.		Ak çayi	E. 86	E. G-6	
		Maku çay		AA 105	
		Zanginiardere			
Tortum çayi			G. 604	U. 324 C III	
			$40^{0}47' \times 41^{0}42'$	AA 6	
Tortum gölü			G. 604	U. 324 C III	
			$40^{0}47' \times 41^{0}42'$		
Tuz gölü		Tatta L.	G. 610 (2)		
			$38^{0}45' \times 33^{0}25'$		
Tuzlasuyu		Mananałi R.	G. 610	U. 340 A I	
			$39^{0}43' \times 40^{0}16'$	AA 6	
Urcajor R.		Vedi R.	E. 76	E. G-6	
Urmiah L.		Kapudan S.	E. 58	E. D-6	
		Kapautan S.		AA 6	
		Spautan S.			
Van L.		Bznuneaç S.	E. 620	U. 340 B IV	
		Thospitis L	$38^{0}33' \times 42^{0}46'$		*See* Ch. XI n. 56.
Varšak springs					*See* Ch. XI n. 21.
Vedi R.		Urcajor R.		AA 7	
Voh	Yoh	Akampsis R.	E. 32, 84	E. B-4	*See* Ch. III n. 24a.
		Boas R.			
		Çoruh nehri			
		Kakamar R.			
Xabor					. *See* Khābūr R.
Xošab R.		Hayoç jor R.	E. 62	E. G-5	
		Hoşap suyu			
Yenice irmaği		Zamantisuyu	G. 658	U. 341 C I	
		Karmalas R. ?	$37^{0}36' \times 35^{0}35'$		
Yeşil irmaği		Iris R.	G. 643	U. 324 D IV	
			$41^{0}24' \times 36^{0}35'$		

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Yoh					*See* Voh.
Zab R.		Mec Zaw	G. 657	AA 6	
			$36^0 00' \times 43^0 21'$		
			E. 66	E. D-5	
Zamanti suyu					*See* Yenice irmaği.
Zanga					*See* Hrazdan R.
Zanginiardere		Maku çay		AA 7	
		Tłmut R.			
Zegam R					*See* Jegam.
Ziban Tigris					*See* Tigris.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE *

Since the original bibliography of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* has of necessity become obsolete after the passage of more than half a century, and its form did not correspond to modern standards, this Bibliographical Note and the Bibliography which follows it are an attempt to indicate to the reader some of the major studies which have appeared since its publication. The vastness of Adontz's interests and the expansion of Armenian, Byzantine and Iranian studies in the intervening period preclude any suggestion of bibliographical completeness, so that only the most general outline has been attempted here. Wherever possible, more recent works subsuming earlier scholarship and bibliography have been listed to remain within manageable bounds. Consequently, a number of familiar works have had to be omitted. A number of more specialized studies will be found in the Bibliography and in the relevant notes. In all these cases, however, numerous lacunae of which the editor remains painfully aware must strike the various specialists. At best, therefore, this Note is intended as an introduction to the student, and not as a guide to the experienced scholar.

Before turning to the works of other specialists, we should note that Adontz, himself, developed and reworked much of the material found in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* in a number of subsequent studies many of which will be found listed below in the Bibliography. For a more extensive listing, both the obituary article in *Handēs Amsorya*, LXI (May, 1947) and the bibliography in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientale et slave* of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, IV (1936) should be consulted as well as the article of K. Yuzbašyan in *PBH* (1962/4).

The single most relevant work at present for the study of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* is unquestionably Cyril Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963) in which he has expanded and re-worked most of the subjects treated earlier by Adontz, with the possible exception of the Armenian Church which

* For the full reference on each entry, the Bibliography should be consulted where necessary.

is discussed only tangentially. Toumanoff's extensive work on the history, geography and particularly the social structure of ancient and mediaeval Armenia, as well as of Transcaucasia, provides in one sense a new edition of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* incorporating both the subsequent scholarship and the necessary revisions. Hence, Adontz's work now benefits by being read in conjunction with Toumanoff's attendant commentary.

I. *The Sources*

In a number of cases the sources cited by Adontz have received more satisfactory editions, and for several classical works he relied on the obsolescent *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, even though both Theophanes the Confessor and Theophylakt Simokattes had already appeared in the preferable editions of C. de Boor (1883 and 1887). To these should now be added A. Pertusi's edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *de Thematibus* (1952) and Moravcsik, Jenkins, et al.'s publication of the same emperor's *de Administrado Imperio* (1949, 1962). The Mommsen, Krüger, et al. edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* has become standard despite some of the misgivings voiced by Adontz, and where it is available, the Conciliar documentation is probably better cited according to Schwartz's *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (1914) than according to *Mansi.* There are better editions of several of the Episcopal *Notitiae* than the one of Pinder and Parthey, as was already observed by Louis Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 428 sqq., and Honigmann's *Le Synekdemos d'Hieroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (1939) should now be consulted on both these treatises. Finally, Miller's *Itineraria Romana* (1916) is the standard edition for the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* Although the volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library* are of variable quality and in numerous instances to be checked against the critical edition of the text, they provide a convenient and generally accurate English translation of the original; when available, however, the French translations in the parallel *Budé* series are often preferable.

In the case of Syriac sources such as Ephraem Syrus, John of Ephesus, or Ps. Zacharias of Mitylene, the versions published in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* have superseded earlier ones.

Armenian sources unfortunately continue to lack critical editions in far too many instances; moreover, such editions as "*Agat'angelos*", *Movsēs Kałankatwaçi*, and *Movsēs Xorenaçi* (Tiflis, 1909, 1912, 1913), Malχasyanç's *Sebēos* (Erevan, 1939), and Abrahamyan's *Yovhannēs Mamikonean* (Erevan, 1941), are still difficultly obtainable, and were regrettably inaccessible to this editor. Nevertheless, a number of new editions have replaced those used by Adontz: Akinian's *Koriwn* (Vienna, 1952), Ter Minaseanç's *Ełišē* (Erevan, 1957), Melik' - Ohanǰanyan's *Kirakos Ganjakeçi*, (Erevan, 1961), Yuzbašyan's *Aristakēs Lastivertçi* (Erevan, 1963). A new version of Yakovb Karneçi is to be found in volume II of Hakobyan's *Minor Chronicles of the XIII-XVIII C.* (1958), and the first volume of the *Armenian Book of Canons* containing the *Canons of St. Sahak*, appeared in 1964. The so-called *Diegesis* or *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, which Adontz preferred to cite in his own copy of the MS rather than according to the Combefisius' edition fathered by Migne simultaneously on the elusive "Isaac Katholikos" (*PG* CXXXII) and Philip the Solitary (*PG* CXXVII), has now received the excellent edition of Garitte in the *CSCO* (1952).

Translations of Armenian sources into western languages, with the outstanding exception of Dowsett's *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasχuranççi* (1961) and his *Penitential of Dawit' of Ganjak* in the *CSCO* (1961), have hardly changed since Adontz's time, and remain almost uniformely unsatisfactory.

Considerable epigraphic material unavailable to Adontz has come to light in recent years. The pre-Armenian, Urartian period has been illuminated by Melikishvili's edition and translation of the Urartian inscriptions, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi* (1960), complemented by D'iakonov's *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty* (1963) and his "Assyro-Babylonian Sources on the History of Urartu", *VDI* (1951). The Armavir inscriptions of the formerly unidentified Erwandian-Orontid rulers of Armenia, some of the Aramaic inscriptions of the Artaxiad dynasty, and the Garni inscription of king Trdat III, together with a number of other epigraphic sources, have been collected in K. Trever's *Ocherki po istorii kultury drevnei Armenii* (1953). The Nemrud dağ inscriptions of the kings of Kommagenē, whom Toumanoff has linked with the Zariadrid dynasty of Sophenē, are found in Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, I, until the expected publication of the final report on Nimrud dağ by T. Goell and F.K. Dörner,

and a list of the more recently discovered Artaxiad Aramaic inscriptions is given by Perikhanian in her latest article in the *REA* (1966). Three volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum* are now out (1960, 1966, 1967), and such collection of foreign sources on Armenia as Melik'set'-Bek, *Georgian Sources concerning Armenia and the Armenians* (1934, 1936, 1955) and Nalbandian, *Arabic Sources Concerning Armenian and the Neighbouring Lands* (1965), should likewise be consulted.

The great Sasanian inscriptions, whose discovery has greatly affected Armenian chronology especially in the third century, are to be found in the following publications: Herzfeld, *Paikuli* (1924), Nyberg, *Hāǰǰiābād* (1945), Sprengling, *Third Century Iran* (1953), and Maricq, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (1958) which contains the earlier bibliography. For the earlier Achemenian inscriptions, the standard text at present is Kent, *Old Persian* (1953). Finally, the Greek and Latin inscriptions found in Armenia and Pontus were collected by Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire in *Studia Pontica*, III (1910).

Adontz was acutely aware of the fact that all hypotheses on Armenian history and culture were, of necessity, only as sound as the sources on which they were based, and he turned repeatedly to this problem both in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, and in subsequent studies. Nevertheless, the status of many crucial Armenian literary sources remains equivocal and controversial at best. The most convenient introduction to the multiple problems of this subject is found in M. Abełyan's *Hayoc̣ hin grakanut'yan Patmut'iwn* (1944, 1946), but this work should be complemented in most cases, since Abełyan's views have not been invariably shared by his colleagues. The most convenient resumé of the continuing controversy over the date and purpose of the *History* attributed to Movsēs *X*orenac̣i in which Adontz actively participated is given by Toumanoff in his *Studies*, and his recent article in *HA* (1961). On the various problems of the compilation traditionally associated with the name of Agat'angełos, but for which recent scholars tend to prefer the descriptive title of *Gregorian Cycle*, the fundamental study is Garitte's admirable *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (1946), now complemented by his study in *AB* (1965). A resumé of the literature on the *Armenian Geography* formerly attributed to Movsēs *X*orenac̣i can be found in Eremyan's *Hayastan est "Ašχarhacoyc"* (1963) and in Hewsen's useful abstract in the *REA* (1965). On the so-called *Anonymous* or *Primary History* of Armenia, usually found in conjunction with the *History* of Sebēos, see Adontz's own

study, Markwart in *Ca* (1930), Malχasyanç in *VV* (1949) Abgaryan, *Sebēosi Patmut'iwn* (1965) and Toumanoff, *Studies*. On Koriwn's *Life of Mesrop Maštoç*, see once again Adontz's work, Akinian in *HA* (1949), and the collections of articles on *Mesrop Maštoç* published by the Armenian Academy of Sciences (1962) and the University of Erevan (1963). On P'awstos Buzand, see Excursus U in Stein's *Histoire du Bas Empire*, II (1949), on Ełišē, Akinian's numerous articles in *HA* (1931-1937, 1950-1951), on Łewond, likewise Akinian, *HA* (1929). On Sebēos, the most recent extensive study is Abgaryan's *Sebēosi Patmut'iwn* (1965), though Abgaryan's conclusions have not been definitively accepted. On the alteration of the date of Uχtanēs' *History of Armenia*, see Peeters, " Sainte Sousanik " in *AB* (1935), on Movsēs Kałankatwaçi or Dasχuranç̣i, Akinian, *HA* (1952, 1956-1958) and Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (1961). On the *Treatise* attributed to Eznik the Priest, see Akinian's answer to Adontz, *HA* (1938). Finally the *Code* of Mχit'ar Gōš and its relationship with other such works has attracted considerable attention *e.g.* Samuēlean, *Mχit'ar Gōši Datastanagirk'n* (1911), Tigranian, *IKIAI* (1925), Kiwlēserean, *HA* (1926), Harut'yunyan's Introduction to Papovian's translation, *Armianskii Sudebnik Mkhitara Gosha* (1954), Galstyan in his edition of Smbat Sparapet's *Datastanagirk'* (1958), Pivazyan, *BM* (1960), and T'orosyan, *BM* (1962). See also Mécérian, *BA* (1947-1948), and Pigulevskaia's article on the *Syrian Lawcode*, *UZL* (1952). As in all cases of actively controverted subjects, all these interpretations and the bibliography must remain provisional.

II. *Geography*

Adontz's book was composed at a time when Hübschmann's great study, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (1904) had already appeared as had the earlier works of Lehmann-Haupt and of Markwart. The later publications of these authors should, however, be consulted, especially Lehmann-Haupt's *Armenian einst und jetzt* (1910-1931) and Markwart's *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie* (1928), *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (1930), and his recently published MS on the province of Parskahayk' in *REA* (1966).

The major recent study of the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire is Honigmann's *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (1935), and a systematic attempt not only to identify and locate,

but also to estimate the territory of the various districts and provinces mentioned in the *Armenian Geography* has been presented in Eremyan's *Hayastan əst* " *Ašχarhaçoyç* " (1963). Wherever possible the multiple articles of Barthold and of Minorsky in the *EI* should likewise be consulted as well as Hakobyan's *Ašχarhagrut'yun* (1968).

The topographical information provided by the various *Itineraries* crossing Armenia has been studied by Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (1916), and with a more precise focus on their sections dealing with Armenia, by Eremyan, *VDI* (1939), and Manandian, *Manr hetazotut'yunner* (1932), *Hayastani glχavor čanaparhnerə* (1936), and the *Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944).

Considerable information on Armenian ecclesiastical geography, as well as on secular topography, is provided in Honigmann's other studies, particularly in his notes to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, in *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie Antérieure* (1951), and in the article on the location of Romanopolis, which appeared in his *Trois mémoires posthumes* (1961). The same is true of Garitte's commentaries to both the *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, and the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae.*

In addition to these works, information on Armenian geography is also found in Ruge's articles in *PW*, Minorsky's " Transcaucasia ", *JA* (1930) and his notes to the *Hudud al-'Alam* (1937), Kanayeanç, *Anyayt gawar̃ner hin Hayastani* (1914), Manandian, *Hin Hayastani mi k'ani problemneri masin* (1944), and *Patmakan-Ašχarhagrakan manr hetazotut'yunner* (1945), Dashian's articles on the western borderlands of Armenia, *HA* (1937-1945), Appendix X of Goubert's *Byzance et l'Orient*, I (1951), Canard's, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, I (1951).

For the peripheral lands discussed by Adontz as being at times part of Armenia, see, in addition to the notes in the *Hudud al-'Alam*, Minorsky's *History of Sharvān and Darband* (1958) and Barthold's earlier *Mesto prekaspiiskikh oblastei* (1924), for the Caspian districts; Pigulevskaya, *Mesopotamiia na rubezhe V-VI vv.* (1940), Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*, *Evêques et évêchés*, and *Le Couvent de Barsauma* (1954), as well as Canard, *Histoire des H'amdanides*, and Dillman's article in *S* (1961) together with his *La Haute-Mesopotamie orientale* (1961), for Mesopotamia and north Syria; Honigmann's *Ostgrenze*, and his article " Kommagene ", *PW*, IV, Dashian's articles in *HA* (1937-1945), Pertusi's commentary on *Costantino Porfirogenito de Thema-*

tibus (1952), and Tiraçean's article on Kommagenē in *IANA* (1956), on the west; and finally, Markwart's *Skizzen*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, Manadian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, Excursus II in Mnçakanyan's *Alvanic Ašχarhi ... šurjə* (1966), and Hakobyan's *Siuniki T'agavorut'yunə* (1966), for the northern borders.

Throughout the area studied by Adontz, the problem of the toponymy remains a nightmare for the investigator. Western Asia Minor has received considerable attention lately in the many studies of Louis Robert, but the east of the peninsula remains well nigh *terra incognita*, especially since maps of this area are generally either totally inadequate or unobtainable as classified military information. The survival of ancient Urartian toponyms in Armenian is discussed by Banateanu, *HA* (1961), Wittek's article on the transition from Byzantine to Turkish Toponymy, *B* (1935) is very useful, and the Department of the Interior's *Gazetteer No. 46* : Turkey provides coordinates for most sites together with the version of their name as of ca. 1960, but a systematic concordance of ancient and modern toponyms, and particularly of their recent, multiple, and rapidly changing avatars is an imperative necessity.

III. *Philology*

Armenian linguistics and philology have been until now the most active fields of Armenology. Consequently, there can be no question of attempting to give here a review of the extensive literature which has been added to this subject, all the more so because of Adontz's generally peripheral treatment thereof.

The first edition of Meillet's *Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classiques* appeared as early as 1902, though Adontz gives no indication of his being familiar with it as he was with the works of both Hübschmann and de Lagarde. Of Meillet's other works and Benveniste's constant studies in *BSL*, *REA*, *HA*, etc., such studies as Meillet's " Quelques mots parthes ", *REA* (1922), Benveniste's " Titres iraniens en Arménien ", *REA* (1929), and *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien* (1966) should be mentioned here as directly relevant to Adontz's interpretation of *naχarar* terminology, as is Dowsett's challenge of the etymologies proposed by him for such terms as *tēr*, *tikin*, in the *Mémorial du Centenaire de l'École des langues*

orientales anciennes of the Institut Catholique (1964). In view of Dowsett's query of Adontz's capacities as a philologist, of Benvenist's suggestion of an Iranian origin for such a term as *awžit*, which Adontz derived from Syriac, and of the growing evidence for the close connexion between mediaeval Armenian and Parthian, the linguistic aspects of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* should probably be revised in the light of new scholarship.

For the characteristics of Classical Armenian and its development, see in addition to Meillet's *Grammaire comparée*, Karst, *Geschichte der armenischen Philologie* (1930), Ačaṙyan, *Liakatar k'erakanut'yun Hayoç lezvi* (1955), and Benveniste, *BSL* (1959) on phonetics and syntax. On the evolution of the language, see Akinian, *HA* (1932), Łap'ançyan, *Hayoç lezvi patmut'iwn* (1961), Łazaryan, *Hayoç grakan lezvi patmut'iwn* (1961), and Manandian's *Yunaban dproçə* (1928), on the influence of the Hellenistic school. When possible, Ačaṙyan's difficultly procurable *Hayerēn armatakan baṙaran* (1926-1935), should also be consulted, even though not all of his etymologies have proved acceptable.

On the origin of Armenian and its relationship with other Indo-European and non Indo-European languages, see Łap'ançyan *K proiskhozhdeniiu Armianskogo iasyka* (1946), and the articles in his *Istoriko-lingvisticheskie raboty* (1956) together with the objections of D'iakonov, " Khetty, Frigiitsy i Armiane ", *Peredneaziatskii Sbornik* (1961), as well as Haas, *HA* (1961). For the classification of Armenian within the Indo-European system, see Pedersen, *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925), Solta, *Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprache* (1960), and Garibian's report to the XXV Congress of Orientalists (1960). On the relations of Armenian and Iranian, see Meillet, *REA* (1921), Benveniste, *HA* (1927) and *REA* (1964), Bolognesi, *Le fonti dialettali degli imprestiti iranici in Armeno* (1960), and his article in *HA* (1961); for Armenian and Phrygian, Haas, *HA* (1939), and Bonfante, *AQ* (1946). See also Deeters, " Armenisch und Südkaukasisch " (1926-1927), Vogt, *NT* (1938), and for Marr's highly controversial theory, Thomas, *The Linguistic Theories of N. Ja. Marr* (1957). Finally, for a survey of the work of the Institute of Linguistics of the Armenian SSR, see Kostanyan, *VIA* (1958).

IV. *Rome and Iran*

For works relating to Armenia see below section V.

On the administrative system of the Later Roman Empire and its eastern provinces, the main general works at present are Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), and *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), although Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor* (1938), Pigagnol, *L'Empire chrétien* (1947), and Palanque's edition of Stein's *Histoire du Bas Empire* (1949, 1959), should also be consulted. For the post-Justinianic period, as well as the earlier one, the most recent Byzantine histories, such as Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* (1957) and the new edition of volume IV of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, are the most convenient references.

For a more recent discussion of Diocletian's reforms and eastern policy, and the pre-Justinianic administration of the Armenian territories, see Costa's article in the *Dizionnario Epigrafico* (1912), Seston, *Dioclétien* (1946) Cumont's " L'annexion ... de la Petite Arménie ", in *Anatolian Studies* (1923), and Ensslin's " Zur Ostpolitik des Kaiser's Diokletians ", *SBAW* (1952). On Diocletian's military system, see Nischer's article in the *JRS* (1923), and van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien* (1952); on the praetorian prefecture: Stein, *Untersuchung über das Officium Prätorianerpräfektur* (1922), Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire* (1933), and de Laet, *ARBEL* (1946-1947); and on the fiscal policy: Pigagnol, *L'Impôt de capitation sous le Bas-Empire Romain* (1916), Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire* (1945), and Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (1958).

On the period of Justinian, the latest major study is volume I of Rubin's *Das Zeitalter Iustinians* (1960), but Palanque's edition of volume II of Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (1949) should also be consulted, as well as Vasiliev's *Justin I* (1950), Pigulevskaia's *Mesopotamia na rubezhe V-VI vv.* (1940), and Hannestad's articles on the relations with Transcaucasia and Central Asia in *B* (1955-1957), for the immediate background of the reign. On Justinian's legal activities, see Collinet, *Études historiques sur le droit de Justinien I* (1912).

For the partition of A.D. 591 and the relations of Maurice and Xusrō II, see Goubert, *Byzance et l'Orient* (1951) and his preliminary

article in *B* (1949), Higgins' *The Persian Wars of the Emperor Maurice* (1939), with the clarification of the problem of chronology, and his article in the *CHR* (1941) on " International Relations at the close of the Sixth Century ", also Minorsky's article in *BSOAS* (1945), Pigulevskaia's *Vizantiia i Iran na rubezhe VI i VII vekov* (1946), and Iskanyan, *PBH* (1960, 1963).

On the still disputed problem of the Byzantine Themes and the date of their appearance, see the article of Baynes, in the *EHR* (1952), Ensslin, *BZ* (1953), Pertusi, *Aevum* (1954), Ostrogorsky, *B* (1954), Dölger, *Historia* (1955), again Pertusi and Ostrogorsky in the *Acts* of the XI International Congress of Byzantine Studies (1958), and particularly the book of Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (1959) which contains a historiographical survey. On the similarity of the Byzantine administrative re-organization and the Sasanian reforms of the sixth century, see Stein, *BNJ* (1920) and his review of Christensen's first edition of *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, *Le Muséon* (1940), as well as Christensen's own acceptance of Stein's thesis in the second edition of his work (1944), excursus II. This thesis has, however been rejected by most recent Byzantinists among them Ostrogorsky, Pertusi, and Karayannopoulos.

On Early Iranian studies in general, see Henning's *Bibliography of Important Studies on Old Iranian Subjects* (1950). Minorsky's articles in *AO* (1932-1951), and Frye's *The Heritage of Persia* (1963), which gives a good summary of recent interpretations together with useful bibliographical notes, particularly for Russian publications. For surveys of Iranian monuments and inscriptions see Henning, *Mitteliranisch* (1959), and Vander Bergh, *L'Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (1959).

On the successive periods of Iranian history relevant to Adontz's discussion, see, for the pre-Persian era, D'iakonov, *Istoriia Medii* (1956) and Aliev, *Midiia - drevneishee gosudarstvo na teritorii Azerbaidzhana* (1956), and for the Achaemenians: Echtécham's *L'Iran sous les Achéménides* (1946), Olmstead's posthumously published, *Persian Empire* (1948), and Leuze's *Die Satrapien* (1935). Much still remains to be done on the Seleucid-Parthian periods despite Tarn's " Seleucid-Parthian Studies ", in *PBA* (1930), Bikerman's, *Les Institutions des Seleucides* (1938), the vast material accumulated in the notes to Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), the appearance of Debevoise's *Political History of Parthia* (1938),

and particularly of Wolski's articles in *Eos* (1946, 1954), the *Bulletin* of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1947), and *Ber.* (1956-1957). Numerous studies on the archaeological finds at Nisa and their evidence as to the nature of early Parthian society have been published in the Soviet Union: *e.g.* Masson, *VDI* (1950), D'iakonov and Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy* (1960), *VDI* (1960), *Sbornik v Chest' Akad. I.A. Orbeli* (1960), and new material is constantly appearing. On the contacts between the Parthian Arsacids and Rome, see Dobiaš' article in *Archiv Orientalni* (1931), and the recent synthesis by Bokshanin, *Parfiani i Rim* (1960).

For the Sasanians, the *locus classicus* is still the second edition of Christensen's *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1944), although the various studies on the inscriptions should also be consulted, especially Honigmann and Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (1953), and Sprengling's critique of earlier accounts of Šāhpuhr I's campaigns in his *Iran in the Third Century* (1953). On the early period see also Taquizadeh, *BSOAS*, XI (1943-1946), Frye, in the *Studi* dedicated to Levi della Vida (1956), and Lukonin, *Iran v epokhu pervykh Sasanidov* (1961). On the wars against the Romans, see in addition to the studies listed above in reference to the partition of 591, Olmstead, *CP* (1942), Rostovtzeff, *Ber.* (1943), Caratelli, *La Parola del Passato* (1947), and Ensslin, *SBAW* (1947), all on the activities of Šāhpuhr I, together with their critique by Sprengling in *Third Century Iran.* On the Sasanian north and west frontier, see also Eremyan, *IAFAN* (1941) and Nyberg, in the *Studia* dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren (1959). Finally on the administration of the empire, see, in addition to Christensen, Stein's earlier article in *BNJ* (1920) and his review of Christensen in *Le Muséon* (1940).

Duchesne-Guillemin's *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (1962) provides a convenient introduction to the subject, but see also: Unvala, *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians* (1925), Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (1928), Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellenisés* (1938), Sprengling, " Kartir " *AJSL* (1940), Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasiens und Iran* (1946), Widengren, *Numen* (1956) and *Les religions de l'Iran* (1968), Chaumont, *RHR* (1960), Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (1961), Benveniste, *JA* (1964), and on Kartir's missionary activity, de Menasce, *AEHE* (1956).

For the Iranian social structure and its bases, see Benveniste's articles, *JA* (1932, 1938), *Le vocabulaire* (1969) and Dumézil's controver-

sial thesis in *Naissance d'archanges* (1945), and *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (1958); on existing institutions, Mazahéri, *La famille iranienne* (1938), Henning, *JRAS* (1953), Wolski's article on the Arsacid period, *Eos* (1954) and Widengren's " Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien ", *OS* (1956). Finally, on the system of taxation and the lower classes of society, see Fateh, *BSOAS* (1938), Solodukho, *SV* (1948), Perikhanian, *VDI* (1952), Pigulevskaia, *VDI* (1937), and *Les villes de l'état iranien* (1963), and Altheim and Stiehl's highly controversial *Ein asiatischer Staat* (1954).

V. *Armenia*

Despite the passage of more than half a century, no satisfactory general history of Armenia has appeared in a western language since the publication of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian.* De Morgan's *Histoire du peuple arménien* (1919) and Grousset's *Histoire de l'Arménie* (1947) are on the whole disappointing, or too old to incorporate recent discoveries. In spite of its great value for reference purposes, Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, provides no systematic historical treatment, as is evident from its title. The most useful general history of ancient and medieval Armenia at present consequently is Manandian's *K'nnakan tesut'yun Hay žolovrdi patmut'yan* (1945-1952), and for the Roman period, Asdourian's *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom* (1911), although it too requires rectification on a number of points. See also Sarkisian's bibliographical survey, *VDI* (1967).

On the periodization of Armenian history presented by Adontz, see the critique of Manandian, *Feodalism hin Hayastanum* (1934) and *The Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944), and Toumanoff, *Studies*, as well as the suggestions of Eremyan in *VI* (1951).

Armenian chronology is still studded with problems and contradictions even on such crucial points as the date of the Christianization of the country, a point on which Adontz, himself proposed a revision in his subsequent study " Les vestiges d'un ancien culte en Arménie ", *AIPHO* (1936). A number of corrections in the chronology were already made by Asdourian in his *Beziehungen*, and for the third century A.D., the studies of Maricq, *S* (1955, 1957) and Kasuni, *Akos* (1957) have helped bring a modicum of precision into a picture

which is still extremely confused. For the date of Diocletian's re-establishment of Trdat III on the throne of Armenia, the evidence of the Sasanian inscriptions must now be taken into consideration, *cf.* Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, Honigmann-Maricq, *Recherches*, and Eremyan's relation of this material to Armenia, *PBH* (1966). For the period of the Christian Arsacids, see the major revision proposed by Baynes, *EHR* (1910), which has not, however, been accepted by all scholars, and on particular events, Peeters, " L'Intervention politique de Constance II ", *ARBBL* (1931), " Le début de la persecution de Sapor ", *REA* (1921). as well as the notes and commentary in Garitte's *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* and the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae.* The most recent discussion of Armenian fourth century chronology, hinging on the date of the Christianization of Armenia, has been given by Ananian, *Le Muséon* (1961), who includes a résumé of other theses, but holds to the general chronological framework of Manandian and Garitte, rejecting Baynes' revision.

The period of Armenian history which has benefitted from the most attention of late, is the earliest pre-Christian era of which Adontz regretted the almost total ignorance in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, but to which he too devoted himself in his last major work, *Histoire d'Arménie* (1946). The enormous quantity of material uncovered by Urartian archaeology, complemented by the deciphering of the Urartian inscription, cannot even be broached in a brief introduction such as this. The most convenient summaries of the scholarship and bibliography of the subject can be found in Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo* (1959), Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu* (1954), Manandian, *O nekotorykh spornykh problemakh* (1956), Łap'ançean, *Istoriko-Lingvisticheskie raboty* (1957), and van Loon, *Urartian Art* (1966), but the constant publication of new excavation reports and articles make all syntheses rapidly obsolete and the periodical literature must invariably be consulted. For the ethnographic pattern of early Armenia and the neighbouring lands, see below section VII.

On the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, our knowledge has likewise been radically altered by Manandian's identification of the native Erwandian-Orontid dynasty, *cf.* Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944) and Trever's *Ocherki po istorii kultury drevnei Armenii* (1953), which contains most of the relevant inscriptions. For the development of Manandian's thesis, and the link between

the Orontids, the Zariadrids of Sophenē, and the dynasts of Kommagenē commemorated in the Nimrud-dağ inscriptions, see Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, which incorporates the material and conclusions of earlier articles, and Sargisyan, *Hellenistakan darašrjani Hayastanə* (1966). See also Tiraçyan in *IANA* (1956), and his report to the XXVth Congress of Orientalists (1960). The discovery of the Aramaic inscriptions of the Artaxiads have also suggested the need for a re-evaluation of the nature of both the Artaxiad and the Zariadrid dynasties in relation to each other and to the contemporary powers, *cf.* in addition to the works of Toumanoff and Trever already mentioned, Perikhanian's article, *REA* (1966) for the recent bibliography.

For Armenia's history as a buffer state between the Romans and the Persians, see the following studies in addition to Asdourian's *Beziehungen* and the relevant works listed in section IV: on the reign of Tigran II and the distorting image given by Roman sources- Manandian, *Tigran II i Rim* (1943), as well as Eckhardt, *K* (1909-1910), Güze, *K* (1926), Manandian, *VDI* (1939, 1940); on the wars of Nero ending in the compromise peace of Rhandeia, Schur- *K* (1923, 1925), Kudriavtsev, *VDI* (1948, 1949); and for Trajan's temporary annexation- Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (1948). On the period of the Christian Arsacids, see, in addition to the works already mentioned under chronology, Akinian, *HA* (1935), Ensslin, *K* (1936), Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I (1959), and Doise, *REAnc.* (1945), for the fourth century; Mécérian, *BA* (1953), Eremyan, *VDI* (1953), and Iskanyan, *PBH* (1966), for the Persian war of 450-451; and Goubert, *Byzance et l'Orient*, on the period of Maurice.

VI. *The Church*

On the general history of the early Church and its institutions touched upon in Adontz's discussion, the most convenient survey is still Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* (1946), and on specific points, the *DTC* and *DHGE* are useful as are Grumel's *Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (1932). See also Stein, *ZNW* (1935) and Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (1958).

On the first œcumenical councils and their participants, Laurent's " Les sources à consulter ", *EO* (1931), Honigmann's valuable articles

in *B* (1939, 1944), and his *Patristic Studies* (1953), must be consulted, as well as Schwartz's study in *ABAWM* (1937) and the Prosopographia and Topographia which he included in volume II-vi of the *ACO*. On the Council of Chalcedon in particular, see the collection of articles in Grillmeier and Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (1951-1954), Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (1961), and in its relation to Armenia, Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and Armenia* (1965).

On the geography of the eastern church, Schwartz's and Honigmann's above mentioned articles are indispensable, as are Honigmann's notes to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, and his *Évêques et évêchés monophysites* (1951), *Le Couvent de Barsauma* (1954), and *Trois mémoires posthumes* (1961). Peeter's *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* (1951), and his articles in *AB*, some of which are included in the preceeding collection, as well as Garitte's notes to " Agathangełos " and the *Narratio* are likewise essential.

For the Armenian Church, studies still begin with Ormanian's *Azgapatum* (1914-1927). Tournebize's *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (1910) can occasionally be useful despite its age and bias, and Kogean's recent and controversial *Hayoç Ekełecin*, should also be consulted, but Mécérian's *Histoire et institutions de l'Église arménienne* (1965) has proved unexpectedly disappointing. All the works of Honigmann, Peeters, and particularly Garitte, already cited, are directly relevant for a study of early Armenian Christianity, as is Markwart's posthumous *Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer* (1931). The most recent survey of the numerous points of controversy is given by van Esbroeck in *AB* (1962). On the question of hereditary ecclesiastical estates, Perikhanian's study on pagan temple-estates, *Khramovye Ob'edinenie* (1959) is of considerable interest, albeit dealing exclusively with the pre-christian period.

VII. *The Naχarar System*

As indicated at the beginning of this note, all future investigations of the Armenian *naχarar* system should begin with Toumanoff's extensive *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963), and the studies of Iranian institutions and terminology mentioned above will invariably prove relevant.

For the early social structure of Transcaucasia and the neigh-

bouring lands, and the complicated ethnographic pattern of the area, the first section of Toumanoff's *Studies* may be complemented by a number of additional works: Hüsing's *Die Völker Altkleinasiens und am Pontus* (1933), Anderson, *Alexander's Gate* (1932), J̌avaχišvili's and Ušakov's articles in *VDI* (1939), Manandian's *Hin Hayastani mi k'ani problemneri masin* (1944), Eremyan, *VI* (1952), Fields' *Contribution to the Anthropology of the Caucasus* (1953), Aliev's article in the *Sbornik v chest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* (1960), Melikishvili's report to the XXVth Congress of Orientalists (1960), and the collection of archaeological articles under the editorship of M. Mellink, *Dark Ages and Nomads* (1964). For recent studies of Armenia's northern borderlands, see Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kultury kavkazskoi Albanii* (1959), the collection of articles on Ałbania published by the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbajanian SSR (1962), Mnaçakanyan's *Ałvanic ašχarhi ... šurj* (1966), and Hakobyan's *Syuniki T'agavorut'yunə* (1966). On early Armenian society see Manandian *IZ* (1945) for the pre-Arsacid period and Eremyan *IANA* (1948) for the Hellenistic epoch.

The entire validity of Adontz's thesis of a similarity between the Armenian *naχarar* system and western feudalism hinges on the premise that the term " feudalism " may properly be applied to other than medieval european institutions. In recent years, however, this assumption has been both challenged and defended, and the definition of " feudalism " as a rigorously circumscribed term, or as a general stage of development has been hotly debated, especially between western and Marxist scholars. *Cf.* Coulborn, *Feudalism in History* (1956), and Kosminski, *Problemy angliskogo feodalisma* (1963). Moreover extensive new studies of western feudalism have altered the interpretation of this institution, so that a number of Adontz's conclusions rest on concepts no longer acceptable to scholars. Consequently, much of the argument in Adontz's last chapter must now be revised in the light of such studies of feudalism as Bloch's epoch-making *La société féodale* (1939), as well as more recent works such as Lot and Fawtier's *Histoire des institutions francaises au Moyen-Age* (1957-1958), Boutruche's *Seigneurie et féodalité* (1959), and Duby's *L'économie rurale* (1962). Although less directly related to Adontz's argument, the studies on Iranian " feudalism " and the Byzantine Themes, mentioned in section IV, as well as Ostrogorsky's *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (1954), and Lemerle's series of articles

on Byzantine agrarian history in *RH* (1958), provide valuable comparative material.

Adontz developed his views on the Armenian social structure in his later study " Aspect iranien du servage ", (1937), and his comparison of the *naχarar* system to western feudalism was continued and elaborated by Manandian, *Feodalism Hin Hayastanum* (1934). Armenian medieval society has also been investigated by Kherumian, " Esquisse d'une féodalité oubliée ", (1948-1949), more recently in Sukiasyan's *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Armenii* (1963) and M.L. Chaumont *JA* (1966).

On Armenian medieval law, see the studies of the *Codes* of Mχit'ar Gōš and Smbat Sparapet listed in section I, and works dealing with the Church, as well as Samuelyan's *Hin Hay iravunk'i patmut'yun*, I (1939), also the above mentioned studies of Manandian and Sukiasian, both of which give considerable attention to the regulations found in ecclesiastical canons.

The status of the lower classes of society has attracted a good deal of attention in recent years, both in general works, and in such specialized studies as Manandian's *Ditołat'yunner hin Hayastani šinakanneri drut'yan masin* (1925) and *Nyut'er hin Hayastani tntesakan kyank'i patmut'yan* (1928), Samuelyan's article in the *Journal* of the University of Erevan (1937), Hakobyan's in *IANA* (1948), and Eremyan's *VDI* (1950), all on slavery, Eremyan's study of city-life, *VDI* (1953), *X*ačikyan's survey of popular movements, *P'ok'r Hayk'i socialakan šaržumnere* (1951), Hakobyan's major work on the Armenian peasantry, *Hay gyułaciut'yan patmut'yun* (1957), and his articles *PBH* (1962, 1966).

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Note. All works have been listed according to the systems of abbreviations used in the notes. For the sake of convenience, titles in Armenian and in Russian have been transliterated as well as translated.

All transliterations follow the systems indicated in the Preface to this edition. Diacritical marks have been used where required, but they have been disregarded insofar as English alphabetical order is concerned. In Armenian, the letter ւ between two vowels has been rendered as -*w*-, e.g. Դուին = Dwin. The letter խ = χ, although in Greek, the traditional transliteration, χ = *ch*, has been preserved.

Familiar proper names have been given according to their traditional spelling, e.g. Dashian, rather than Tašean, and only one form has been used for each name irrespective of extant variants.

* This Bibliography incorporates both the works listed in the original Russian edition and those which appeared subsequently. Works marked with an asterisk are those which were listed in the original edition.

I. Sources

Whenever available, the editions of the *Loeb Classical Library* [L] have been used for the sake of the parallel English text.

For Armenian sources, the best obtainable edition has been used, but in a number of cases, the edition cited is regrettably less an index of its intrinsic value, than of its accessibility to the editor.

** Sources marked with a double asterisk are those listed by Adontz in the original Bibliography without an indication of the edition used.

Aa — *see* " Agat'angełos ", *Agat'*.

Ag — *see* " Agat'angełos ", *Ag*.

Agat'. — *see* " Agat'angełos ", *Agat'*.

" Agat'angełos " — *Agat'angełos, *Patmut'iwn* [*History*], (Tiflis, 1883).

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